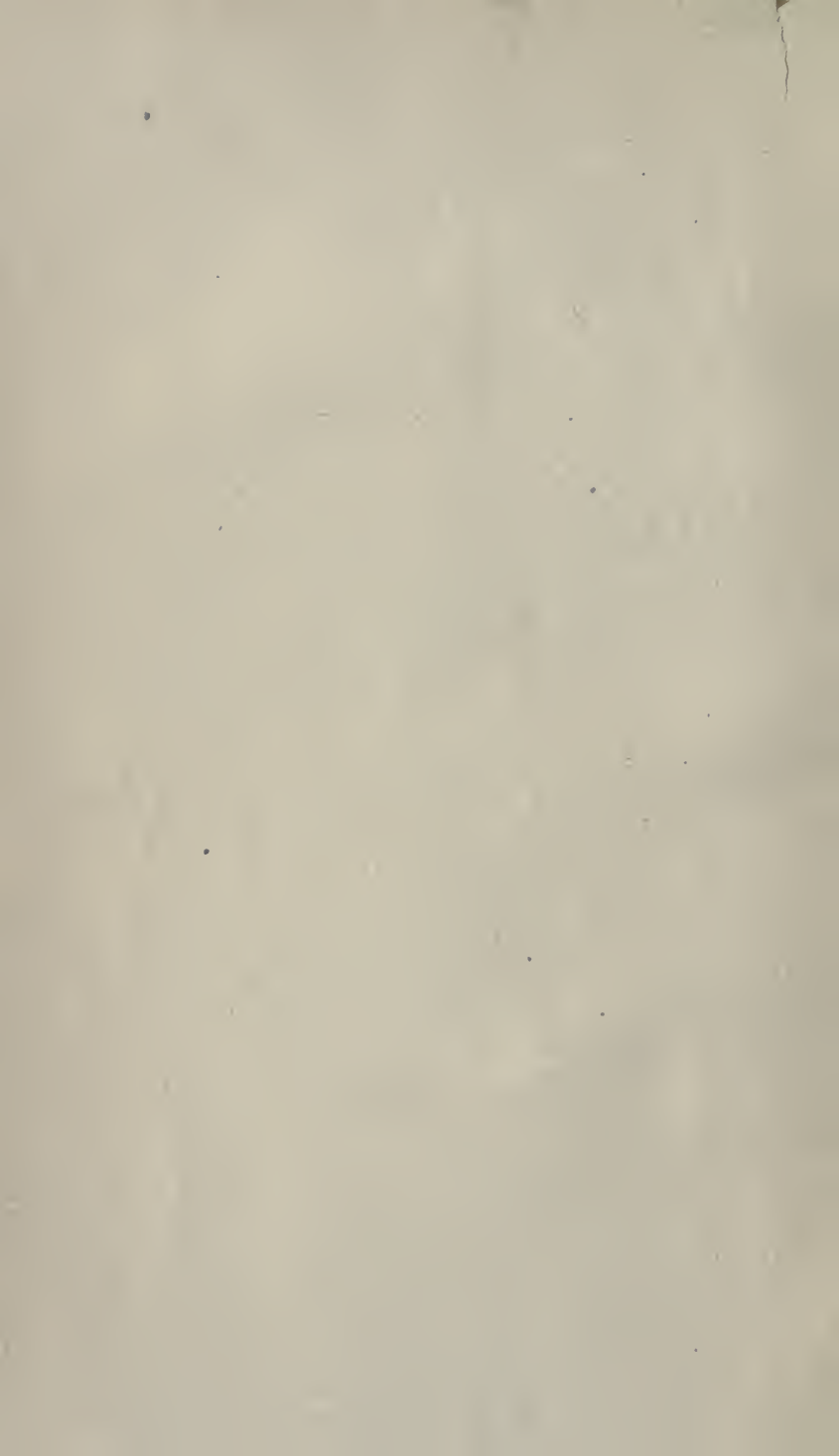


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CORRESPONDENCE
OF
WILLIAM PITT,
EARL OF CHATHAM.

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John Henry Pringle*
EDITED BY THE EXECUTORS OF HIS SON,

JOHN, EARL OF CHATHAM,

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TO ILLUSTRATE
AN EVENTFUL PERIOD OF ENGLAND'S STORY,
AND TO DEVELOPE
THE CHARACTER OF AN HEROIC STATESMAN,
THESE PAPERS
OF
WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM,
ARE PRESENTED TO
THE BRITISH PUBLIC,
BY
HIS GREAT-GRANDSON,
THE EDITORS.

JULY 12th, 1838.

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WILLIAM PITT, Earl of Chatham, was born November the 15th, 1708. He was the younger son of Robert Pitt, of Boconnock in Cornwall, Esq., by Harriet, sister of John Villiers, Earl of Grandison, and he was grandson of Thomas Pitt, sometime governor of Madras.

He received his education at Eton ; from whence he was sent, at the age of eighteen, to Trinity College, Oxford. Upon quitting the University he made a tour through part of France and Italy. His limited income making it advisable for him to select some profession, he obtained a cornetcy in the Blues.

In 1735, he took his seat in Parliament for the borough of Old Sarum, where he quickly became distinguished for his abilities and eloquence. Sir Robert Walpole resented his opposition by depriving him of his commission. He was then appointed groom of the bedchamber to His Royal Highness Frederick, Prince of Wales ; and in the administrations which followed the retirement of Walpole, he successively filled various official situations, and was chosen of the Privy Council.

At length, on the 4th of December 1756, Mr. Pitt kissed hands as Secretary of State. In the following April, he was commanded to resign; but so strongly was the public opinion of him expressed, that the seals were re-delivered to him on the 27th of June.

No sooner did he take the lead than the spirit of the nation was roused into action, and all parties united for the common good. His virtue gave dignity to the policy of England; his genius taught enterprise to the leaders of her armaments; — the wisdom of his measures was rewarded by a series of conquests throughout the world; and for a period of four victorious years the British flag waved triumphantly in every clime: but his vigorous measures ceasing to be supported in the Cabinet as he conceived they ought to be, he resigned, October the 5th, 1761.

In July 1766, Mr. Pitt was again summoned to form an administration; when, retaining for himself the office of Privy Seal, he was created Earl of Chatham.

The gout, to which from his very boyhood he had been subject, had for some years increased, both in the severity and duration of its attacks; and

in the early part of 1767, he was so severely afflicted, that for several months he was absolutely incapacitated from all attention to business. In this helpless condition, he had nothing to wish for but retirement: an assurance, however, from his Sovereign, that his name alone was sufficient to give stability to his Government, induced him to continue nominally attached to the administration. But, in the following year his recovery appearing hopeless, and feeling dissatisfied with some of his colleagues, who adopted measures of which he could not approve, he again resigned, October the 12th, 1768; nor did he ever afterwards take office.

Throughout the disputes between England and her American Colonies, he had ever been a zealous advocate for conciliation, and had strongly urged the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766. In the House of Lords, he continued to recommend the abandonment of coercive measures, especially in 1774. His warning voice, however, was disregarded, and in 1776, the Colonies proclaimed their independence. Even then he relaxed not in his endeavours to induce the Government to effect a reconciliation: — but the announcement of a Treaty of Amity between France and America in 1778 called forth the proud indignation of the patriot.

His last attendance in the House of Lords was on the 8th of April, in that year. The Duke of Richmond having moved to withdraw the British troops from America, and insisting on the necessity of the measure, Lord Chatham, with enthusiastic energy, opposed the motion. The Duke having replied, his Lordship attempted again to rise, but his strength failing, he fell in a convulsive fit; from the effects of which he died on the 11th of May, at Hayes, in Kent.

This great man was buried in Westminster Abbey, at the expense of a grateful country, and public monuments record his fame.

He married, in 1754, Hester, only daughter of Richard Grenville, of Wotton, Esq., and of Hester, Countess Temple. On his retirement from office in 1761, his wife was created Baroness Chatham, with a pension of 3000*l.* per annum, for three lives.

They had five children, three sons and two daughters, of whom WILLIAM, the second son, inheriting his Father's abilities and patriotism, has stamped the name of PITT with a double immortality.

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PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF STATE,

From 1741 to 1759.

Lord Chancellor.

1741. Earl of Hardwicke.
1756. Sir John Willes, knt. lord chief justice of the Common
Pleas ; Sir Sidney Stafford Smythe, knt. one of the
barons of the Exchequer ; Sir John Eardley Wilmot,
knt. one of the justices of the King's Bench —
Commissioners of the Great Seal.
1757. Sir Robert Henley, knt. Lord Keeper.

First Lord of the Treasury.

1742. Feb. Earl of Wilmington.
1743. Aug. Right Hon. Henry Pelham.
1754. Mar. Duke of Newcastle.
1756. Nov. Duke of Devonshire.
1757. April. Lord Mansfield.
1757. July. Duke of Newcastle.

President of the Council.

1742. Feb. Earl of Harrington.
1744. Dec. Duke of Dorset.
1751. June. Earl Granville.

Lord Privy Seal.

1742. Feb. Lord Gower.
1743. Dec. Earl of Cholmondeley.
1744. Dec. Lord Gower.
1755. Jan. Duke of Marlborough.
1756. Dec. Lord Gower.
1757. June. Earl Temple.

First Lord of the Admiralty.

1742. Mar. Earl of Winchelsea.
1744. Dec. Duke of Bedford.
1748. Feb. Earl of Sandwich.
1751. June. Lord Anson.
1756. Nov. Earl Temple.
1757. April. Earl of Winchelsea.
1757. July. Lord Anson.

Principal Secretaries of State.

1742. Feb. Lord Carteret.
 1744. Nov. Earl of Harrington.
 1746. Feb. 10. Earl Granville.
 1746. Feb. 14. { Duke of Newcastle.
 { Earl of Harrington.
 1746. Nov. 4. Earl of Chesterfield, *vice* Earl of Harrington.
 1748. Feb. Duke of Bedford, *vice* Earl of Chesterfield.
 1751. July. Earl of Holderness, *vice* Duke of Bedford.
 1754. April. Sir Thomas Robinson, *vice* Duke of Newcastle.
 1755. Nov. Right Hon. Henry Fox, *vice* Thomas Robinson.
 1756. Dec. Right Hon. William Pitt. Commanded to resign, April,
 1757.
 1757. June 27. Right Hon. William Pitt.

Chancellor of the Exchequer.

1742. Feb. Right Hon. Samuel Sandys.
 1743. Aug. Right Hon. Henry Pelham.
 1754. Mar. 9. Sir William Lee, lord chief justice of the King's
 Bench.
 1754. Apr. 6. Right Hon. Henry Bilson Legge.
 1755. Dec. 20. Sir George Lyttelton, bart., afterwards Lord Lyttelton.
 1756. Nov. 16. Right Hon. Henry Bilson Legge.
 1757. April 9. Lord Mansfield, lord chief justice of the King's
 Bench.
 1757. July 2. Right Hon. Henry Bilson Legge.

Master-General of the Ordnance.

1742. Duke of Montagu.
 1755. Duke of Marlborough.
 1757. Lord Ligonier.

Treasurer of the Navy.

1744. George Bubb Dodington, Esq., afterwards Lord Mel-
 combe.
 1749. Right Hon. Henry Bilson Legge.
 1754. Right Hon. George Grenville.
 1755. George Bubb Dodington, Esq.
 1756. Right Hon. George Grenville.
 1757. April. George Bubb Dodington, Esq.
 1757. June. Right Hon. George Grenville.

Secretary at War.

1746. Right Hon. Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland.
 1755. Viscount Barrington.

Paymaster-General.

1746. Right Hon. William Pitt.
 1755. Earl of Darlington.
 1755. Viscount Duplin, afterwards Earl of Kinnoul.
 1757. Right Hon. Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland.

Joint Postmasters-General.

1741.	{ Earl of Leicester.
	{ Sir John Eyles, knt.
1745.	{ Earl of Leicester.
	{ Sir E. Fawkener.
1757.	{ Earl of Besborough.
	{ Hon. Robert Hampden.

Speaker of the House of Commons.

Right Hon. Arthur Onslow.

Master of the Rolls.

1741.	William Fortescue, Esq.
1750.	Sir John Strange, knt.
1754.	Sir Thomas Clarke, knt.

Attorney-General.

1741.	Sir Dudley Ryder, knt.
1754.	Hon. William Murray, afterwards Earl of Mansfield.
1756.	Sir Robert Henley, knt., afterwards Earl of Northington.
1757.	Sir Charles Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden.

Solicitor-General.

1742.	Hon. William Murray, afterwards Earl of Mansfield.
1754.	Sir Richard Lloyd, knt.
1754.	Hon. Charles Yorke.

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

1743.	Duke of Devonshire.
1745.	Earl of Chesterfield.
1747.	Earl of Harrington.
1751.	Duke of Dorset.
1755.	Duke of Devonshire.
1757.	Duke of Bedford.

Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant.

1757.	Right Hon. Richard Rigby.
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FAC-SIMILES OF AUTOGRAPHS

In Vol. I.

PLATE

- I. Duke of Newcastle.
Right Hon. Thomas Pelham.
Thomas Orby Hunter, Esq.
Right Hon. Henry Bilson
Legge.
Earl of Hardwicke.
- II. Thomas Pitt, Esq., afterwards
Lord Camelford.
- III. Earl of Tyrawly.
Lord George Sackville.
Right Hon. Henry Fox, after-
wards Lord Holland.
Earl of Holderness.
Thomas Potter, Esq.
William Beckford, Esq.
Viscount Barrington.
Sir Joseph Yorke.
Andrew Mitchell, Esq., after-
wards Sir Andrew Mitchell.
Gilbert Elliot, Esq., after-
wards Sir Gilbert Elliot.
John Wilkes, Esq.
Sir Benjamin Keene.
M. D'Abreu, Spanish envoy
at the court of London.
- IV. Rt. Hon. George Grenville.
- V. Earl Marischal Keith.
Earl of Exeter,
Horatio, afterwards Lord,
Walpole.
Dr. Warburton, afterwards
Bishop of Gloucester.

PLATE

- Mrs. Osborn, sister of Ad-
miral Byng.
Mrs. Wolfe, mother of General
Wolfe.
- VI. }
VII. } Mr. Pitt.
- VIII. Admiral, afterwards Lord,
Rodney.
Sir Jeffrey, afterwards Lord,
Amherst.
Baron de Knyphausen, Hano-
verian minister at the court
of London.
Dr. Markham, afterwards arch-
bishop of York.
Dr. Seeker, archbishop of
Canterbury.
Earl of Bristol.
Earl of Kinnoul.
Duke of Marlborough.
Duke of Bedford.
Hon. George, afterwards Mar-
quis, Townshend.
Prince Ferdinand of Bruns-
wick and Lunenburg.
- IX. Earl Temple.
Earl of Bute.
- X. }
XI. } Frederick the Second, King
of Prussia.
- XII. General Wolfe.
Hon. Horace Walpole, after-
wards Earl of Orford.
Right Hon. Richard Rigby.

Am Dear

most respectful yours

John Hardwicke

Am Dear Sir

Your most obedient humble servant

H. Pelham

Thos Bury Lister

Am Dear Sir

most Affec^{ly}

J B Legge.

Your most obedient, most
faithful, & most humble
Servant

Hardwicke.

2.
For my own part, I must
confess my Ambition instigates me to wish & hope to be a great man
& by that I mean, to be a conspicuously good man. To have my
abilities increased in proportion to my good will to mankind, & if
I desire renown & praise, it is only such as the happiness of others
by my means may effectually reflect upon me. Glory attended with
self applause is a real happiness; but if not seconded within by a
consciousness of desert, it would give me no more joy than it, by a
mistake in a crowd, I should be honoured with the title of your Grace.

Your ever affectionate Nephew

Thomas Pitt.

Cambridge
April 20th

1755

3
Pawley. Geo: Jackville
Yours ever JH Rose

Holdermeyer. Tho: Potter

Wm: Berkeford.

Barrington. Joseph Yorke;

And: Mitchell.

Gib: Elliot John Wilkes.

Bruene & Abreu
C. M. M.

Wotton Augth 23rd 1758

you have a melancholy task indeed,

affected as you justly are with this publick & private
sorrow to communicate the death of Lord Howe to a
brother that most tenderly loves him. No man living
could do it with so much gentleness & affection with so much
honour & credit both to the dead & to the living.

I am ever your most affectionate
brother

George Grenville.

Keith

Exeter

Wolfe

W. Warburton

Feb 17 1757

pardon I beseech you S^r the importu-
-nity of a Sister, who now is reduced to
the hard Necessity of begging the Life
of an Unhappy Brother.

S. Osborn.

Black heath Nov. ^{or} 2^d 6th

you did my Dear son the
Honour to intrust him with
so great and important an
affair as the taking of Quebec,
which you S^r Plan'd, and he
Executed.

JH: Wolfe.

6
The Treppens is just arrived and
no news! Expectation grows every hour
into more anxiety! The fate of
Louisbourg and of Olmutz, probably
decided ~~that~~ the result unknown.
The enterprise crowned with success,
or baffled: at this moment and
indications of a second battle towards
the Rhine. I wish, my life, in the

same favoring Providence, that
all will be well.

The young ones are so delightfully noisy
that I hardly know what to

write. My most affectionate compliments to all

the Congreg. & ever loving husband

The Right Honourable
The Lady Hester-Pitt

W. Pitt

W. Rodney. J. M. Amherst

Le 3^e de May 1795

W. Markham. Tho. Cant.

Bristol. Kinnell.

Marbrey. Bedford.

Geo. Townshend

C'est une justice que toute
L^e Europe vous doit & l^e
Angleterre en particulier que
vous ne faites pas les choses
à moitié.

Ferdinand Duc de Bruns-
wick & de Lünebourg.

The truest affection

Oct 13. 1759

believe me with
My Dear Mr Pitt
Your most loving brother
Temple

My dear

Friends, what dreadful surprises do we begin with; I yet
thank God I see you in office; if even the worst of this
Crown can be preserved to our amiable young Prince, his
to your efforts, your abilities, my dear Pitt, that he will not it.
most affectedly
By

Friday, 10

most sincerely yours &c &c
Bucke

a Brest le 5 de Janv. 1759

Je ne saurais m'empêcher de Vous Marquer Monsieur ma reconnaissance de La façon dont Vous venez encore en dernier lieu de Vous expliquer au parlement sur Mon sujet, j'aimerais de tant d'endroits que j'aurais pu que Vous Donnez pour mes Intérêts que je n'ai que me refuser la Satisfaction de Vous en remercier May Meme; L'Angleterre et La Russie La trouvent acablée par un Nombre d'ennemis qui ont conjuré contre Elles, dans un tems où l'on voit Les Liens forcés des Français et des Autrichiens et L'alliance plus bizarre des Russes avec Les Suédois, il falloit pour mettre un Contrepois à tous d'entreprises que Les Rois qui nous unissent fussent redus insolubles, et n'y eût de Moyen de nous faire que par une Intelligence Inaltérable, j'en Sais Monsieur Combien Vous y avez Contribué, La nature qui

m'a refusé l'autre talent m'a donné un cœur reconnaissant
et une Ame sensible et de la que la Les souffris ne s'effacent
jamais; Continuy^z Monsieur a soutenir Comme Vous Le faites
avec Etat Les Entreprises de Vos Compatriotes, et a Montrer
au Monde que Les Intérêts de la politique sont Conciliables
avec la probité et La bonne foy, vous devez conter sur mes
Suffrages, et sur la résolution dans laquelle je suis de
vous donner dans toutes Les occasions des Marques de
Mon Amitié et de mon estime.

A Monsieur Pitt
Ministre et Secrétaire d'Etat
de La Majesté Britannique

Edouard

4th Sep? 1759.

my constitution is entirely ruin'd
without the consolation of having done any considerable
service to the State; or with out any prospect of it

Sam: Wolfe.

I wished to thank you for the security you have fixed to me of
enjoying the happiness I do enjoy. You have placed England in a
situation in which it never saw itself—a task the more difficult,
as you had not to improve but recover.

Horace Walpole

What a glorious conclusion of the greatest year
England ever saw!

Richard P. Bigler

CORRESPONDENCE,

&c. &c.

MR. PITT TO THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD. (1)

Clifden, August 6, 1741.

MY LORD,

* * * * I THINK, with your Lordship, the scene abroad a most gloomy one. Whether day is ever to break forth again, or destruction and darkness is finally to cover all—*impiaque æternam meruerunt sæcula noctem*—must soon be determined. As the Austrian thunder of my Lord Carteret (2) has not yet waked the child in cradle, there is

(1) Philip Dormer Stanhope, fourth Earl of Chesterfield. The Earl was at this time at Paris, whither he had gone, at the close of the session, for the restoration of his health. On the union of parties in 1744, he was appointed ambassador-extraordinary to the Hague; whence he proceeded, in the following year, to Ireland, of which he had been appointed Lord Lieutenant. On his return to England in 1746, he was made principal Secretary of State, and, in 1748, he retired from office and took no part in any future administration. He died in March, 1773.

(2) An allusion to Lord Carteret's speech in the House of Lords, on the 9th of April, upon the address to the King. See Parliamentary History, vol. xii. p. 154.

no hope that an Aurora Borealis will light us to salvation. I wish his Imperial Majesty a good nap: it is very fit children should sleep, and I only wish, in this great crisis, every man in England may awake. I hope my letter of the 26th of July came to your hands: where this will find your Lordship, I do not know; that it may find you well is all I have to wish. France, by her influence and her arms, means, to be sure, to undo England and all Europe: by her air and climate she may do the reverse, if they confirm the health of the only man who can save us,

I am your Lordship's most faithful
and most obedient servant,

W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD.

London, September 10, 1741.

MY LORD,

I AM afraid my two last letters to your Lordship may have miscarried, especially the first of them, which is of so old a date, that it must have reached you long ago, if it was not stopped. Since I have had the pleasure of hearing from you, I have often had that of hearing of you, which has made me some amends; for every account of you concurs in saying you are perfectly well. I write to you now,

to make his Royal Highness's ⁽¹⁾ compliments of felicitation to you upon the recovery of your health, or, to give your Lordship a truer idea of the pleasure he expresses at it, to tell you he felicitates himself upon it, as the happiest event to him and to the nation. That it is so, is a most indubitable truth ; and your presence here will, I doubt not, make it be understood and felt to be so by all mankind. Till you do give yourself back again to your friends and servants here, I wish you all the pleasures a fine climate and an agreeable people can give you. I hope you liked the Court of France as well as it liked you. The uncommon distinctions I hear the Cardinal ⁽²⁾ showed you are the best proof that, old as he is, his judgment is as good as ever. As this great respectable minister has taken so much of his idea of the men in power here, from the person of a great negotiator who has left the stage ⁽³⁾, I am very

⁽¹⁾ Frederick, Prince of Wales, eldest son of George the Second, and father of George the Third. It was upon the address of congratulation to the Throne on the occasion of his Royal Highness's marriage, in April, 1736, with Augusta, Princess of Saxe-Gotha, that Mr. Pitt delivered his first speech in the House of Commons. In September, 1737, he was appointed groom of the bed-chamber to his Royal Highness, and continued for some time attached to his household.

⁽²⁾ Cardinal Fleury, prime minister of Louis XV. He died in January, 1743, in his ninety-first year.

⁽³⁾ James, first Earl of Waldegrave. In 1727, he was appointed ambassador to Vienna, and, three years afterwards, succeeded Horatio Walpole in the still more important embassy to the court of Versailles, where he resided till the year 1740.

glad he has had an opportunity once before he dies of forming an idea of those out of power, from my Lord Chesterfield.

I am your Lordship's most faithful
and obedient servant,

W. PITT.

P. S.—It is reported here, that you sup with ladies, and keep ill hours.⁽¹⁾ If you have health enough to live, not only with French men but with French women, I conceive the whole learned faculty will pronounce your health sufficiently confirmed. If this be your happy state, I do maintain (without talking patriotism), that your Lordship has more business which indispensably requires your presence here, than any man in England. I hope to kiss your Lordship's hands at London soon.

He died in April, 1741 ; his eldest son, the author of "Historical Memoirs from 1754 to 1758," succeeding to his titles and property.

(¹) During the Earl's short stay at Paris "he was," says Dr. Maty, "a most acceptable guest in the best societies, and a partaker of their pleasures. The hotels of Coigny, Matignon, Noailles, were open to him, as well as the houses of Mesdames de Tencin, de Monconceil, Martel, ladies equally distinguished by their rank, their merit, and their wit. He frequently saw some of the principal literati of that country, such as Sellier, Crébillon, Fontenelle, but chiefly his old friend Montesquieu. — *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 101.

PEREGRINE FURZE, ESQ., TO MR. PITT.⁽¹⁾

Paymaster-General's Office, July 31, 1746.

SIR,

SINCE I had the honour of writing to you, the 22d instant, the Treasury, without memorial, directed 50,000*l.* in further part of the pay of the Hanover troops, which has been issued at your office in the usual manner to Baron Steinberg. A warrant for the like sum is prepared at the Treasury, payable to Baron Wassenauer for the Austrians; but no direction yet given upon the Exchequer, which is bare of money at this time. It is said a Bill will pass this day se'nnight for enabling the Bank to circulate 500,000*l.* in Exchequer bills, upon the like sum voted for extraordinary services of the current year, which will put the public into better circumstances.

The sum voted for the pay of the Dutch troops has been received; by which is replaced the 20,000*l.* lately remitted to Mr. Hunter on the head of extraordinaries. Upon payment of the subsistence to the 24th of next month, there is remaining in your hands about 23,000*l.* I think the Treasury

(¹) Mr. Furze was secretary and accountant in the paymaster's office. In the preceding May, on the death of Mr. Winnington, Mr. Pitt had received the appointment of paymaster of the forces, and was made a member of the privy council.

is not in a condition of directing the 137,000*l.* for extraordinaries of last year; yet they will give what they can in part of it.

I have laid before the Chancellor of the Exchequer the draught of the warrant to indemnify you in the remittance for extraordinary services abroad. This draught is so far approved by him, that he has advised me to take the sense of the Deputy Auditors upon it, in order to render it the more effectual; and I believe if they are concurrent in their opinion, as I am in hopes they will be, from a conference I have already had with one of them, you will have such a warrant as will fully answer your purpose and intention.

The transports are ready for the embarkation of the regiments in Scotland, but they had not received their last orders when the Duke⁽¹⁾ left Edinburgh. Charleroi has been given up to the French, in the same dishonourable manner as other towns defended by Dutch garrisons.

The Pretender is wandering, in a most infirm condition, on one of the mountains with one O'Neil. Two detachments — one of dragoons and another of foot — are after him, and it is mentioned without reserve, that they have orders to dispatch him, wherever he can be found. Mr. Townley, with the other prisoners, was executed yesterday⁽²⁾, not-

(1) His Royal Highness William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, third son of George the Second.

(2) On Kennington common, for high treason.

withstanding a letter from M. D'Argenson ⁽¹⁾ came the day before in his behalf, by the canal of one M. Carpentier, to the Duke of Newcastle.

Mr. Pelham directs me to acquaint you, that the armies in Flanders are so near that there may be an action, if both are equally inclined to it; but in his private opinion the French will rather avoid it, as they have a probability of doing their business without it.

I am, with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient, and

most faithful humble servant,

PEREGRINE FURZE.

THOMAS ORBY HUNTER, ESQ. ⁽²⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Rotterdam, March 7, N. S. 1746-7.

SIR,

SINCE my arrival in Holland I have been at the Hague to receive his Royal Highness's commands. I have, since my return from thence, paid two of his Royal Highness's warrants of 100,000 guilders each to the contractor for forage, and in a short time I am to expect warrants in favour of the

(1) The French secretary of state for foreign affairs.

(2) Mr. Orby Hunter was, at this time, deputy-paymaster of the forces in Flanders. He was afterwards commissioner of the admiralty, and commissioner of the treasury. He died in 1769.

same for as much more. As the magazines that were ordered are nearly completed, the payments to this contractor will absorb the 40,000*l.* you remitted for that purpose.

The troops have received their subsistence to the 24th of March, except a regiment or two which lie at some distance separate from the rest. Till the army assembles and the final agreements are made for the field, it will be impossible for me to form any judgment of the current extraordinary expenses. In the mean time I should imagine that a remittance of 30,000*l.* per month will be sufficient to answer those expenses, and if the nature of this campaign should be such as to require a greater supply than I am at present aware of, the demand can hardly be so sudden but that I shall have due notice to apprize you of it.

Upon an express received last Saturday by Count Hawach, the Queen's⁽¹⁾ minister for the Congress, from Lord Sandwich⁽²⁾, he immediately set out for Breda, which incident has greatly increased the expectations of a peace on this side. If to be

(1) The Queen of Hungary.

(2) John Montagu, fourth earl of Sandwich. In November, 1746, his lordship was constituted minister-plenipotentiary to the States-General during the conferences at Breda, and assisted in the settling those preliminaries of peace which were ratified at Aix-la-Chapelle in October, 1748. He afterwards became ambassador to the court of Spain. In 1762, he was appointed first lord of the admiralty; in August, 1763, secretary of state for the home department; and in 1771, again first lord of the admiralty. He died in 1792.

obtained upon tolerable terms, I hope we shall see it soon: howsoever well prepared we may have had reason to expect to be for the ensuing campaign, I greatly fear our numbers will fall considerably short of what has been promised; for on the side of the Austrians I can learn but of one regiment of three battalions, that of Neiperg, to be on the march for the Low Countries: this is the only new corps I can hear of to join our army. The other reinforcement consists in recruits which are arriving indeed in good numbers; but I question much if they will do more than replace the loss of men last campaign, and in winter quarters. Upon this footing, I am sorry to conjecture how far short they will be of the 60,000 proposed.

The Dutch discipline is so much worn out, that I have heard it much doubted whether the positive orders given by their Government will have had weight enough with their officers to complete their corps. The national regiments will find great difficulties to recruit; so that upon the whole, it is to be feared that this body will come short of expectation into the field.

On the other hand, the preparations of the enemy show them to be upon the defensive scheme; which is some argument that they acknowledge the prospect of our being superior in the field, and yet it is positively asserted that their King⁽¹⁾ is to command. Marshal Saxe is expected to-morrow at Brussels,

(¹). Frederick, King of Prussia.

and I understand that several regiments are filing off from different places to assemble at Antwerp. There seems to be a trial of skill who shall get together the first into the field; and indeed upon that will the hopes of success this campaign in a great measure depend. ⁽¹⁾

I am ashamed to have detained you so long upon conjectures of my own; nothing will give me greater pleasure than to find myself mistaken. When I have more certain information I will have the honour to communicate it to you, and give you notice constantly of any thing that happens of consequence.

I have the honour to be, with great regard, Sir,

Your most obedient, and

most humble servant,

THOMAS ORBY HUNTER.

⁽¹⁾ "In consequence of the arrangements at the Hague for an early campaign, the Duke of Cumberland, who was again intrusted with the command, took the field in February. But the British court soon discovered, that they had overrated the zeal and means of their allies; for munitions of war were scantily provided, and the Dutch and Austrians were lamentably deficient in their promised quotas. The confederate forces were, therefore, harassed for a month by useless movements, while Marshal Saxe retained his troops in quarters provided with every requisite, and was prepared to resume the contest with effect on the advance of the season." — *Cove's Pelham Administration*, vol. i. p. 358.

THOMAS ORBY HUNTER, ESQ., TO MR. PITT.

Rotterdam, April 4, (N. S.) 1747.

SIR,

I HAD the honour of your letter of the 8th March (O.S.) yesterday, when three packets arrived together. I was then but just returned from the Hague, where I had been by order of his Royal Highness.

I found every thing preparing there for his setting out the end of this week, in order to draw the army together out of their winter-quarters. The Austrians were to be, as this day, all passed the Maese, to come into cantonments upon the Dutch territories at hand, so as to be able to join the whole body immediately. The Hanoverians, who were the most remote, have likewise been in motion for some days, to draw nearer together; so that by the end of the week, the whole will be ready for the general rendezvous. Lord Sandwich is strong in the belief, and assured me, that by that time there would be an army of 110,000 men, effectives; which he reckoned thus — English, Hanoverians, and Hessians, 38,000, Dutch 30,000, and Austrians 42,000; in which computation he had allowed a deficiency of 5000 to the Dutch, who should be 35,000, and 6000 to the Austrians, who call themselves 48,000 effectives,

but none to our corps: to these he said there would speedily be joined 6000 more, which the Dutch have taken into pay from Germany, and 2000, our expected transport from Ireland; so that he was positive we should have an army of about 120,000 effective men very soon in the field.

If this shall prove true, we may have reason to hope for a successful campaign; for it is hardly probable that the enemy can be so strong, for the beginning of the campaign at least: but, by all the private information I can get, his Lordship will be deceived in his computation, of the Dutch strength at least; but upon the whole, I think it very certain we shall have full 100,000 effective men together. Lord Sandwich returns in two or three days to Breda. I could perceive, from his Lordship's conversation, that a breach between the courts of France and Spain was a more probable expectation, than any accommodation among the powers at war. The young Pretender is returned to Paris, after a voyage of much discontent to Madrid; where he was allowed but a very short stay, and dismissed with a present of four thousand dollars to bear his expenses.

The French letters mention, that there was actually in the press a declaration of war against the Dutch, or at least a manifesto to be sent to the ministers of all courts, setting forth the reasons and motives the King had to attack the Dutch territories.

Marshal Saxe is at Brussels, some say much out

of order. The French succours were not arrived at Genoa. Since my last to Mr. Grenville⁽¹⁾, I have paid two warrants to the forage contractors, for about 20,000*l.*; so the whole paid to them is now about 40,000*l.* I observe by your letter, that you have made a further remittance of 40,000*l.* for the service of extraordinaries. I begin to foresee that forage will be an immense article this campaign; for half the magazines made, being upon the Maese up to Maestricht, will not probably be used, as it is expected the troops will move another way, and I find great schemes going forward for a further supply of an immense quantity, over and above the magazines already contracted for.

I have great pleasure in receiving your commands to correspond with you; I must, however, beg your indulgence to make allowances in the news I shall write you, for the greatest part I hear is very uncertain; but I shall endeavour to distinguish such as I think you may depend upon, and be very constant in giving you accounts of what I hear, without any expectation of putting you out of your way in writing to me oftener than it suits your leisure and conveniency. I concluded Mr. Grenville would communicate to you what I wrote to him; or you should not have been so long with-

(1) The Hon. James Grenville, third son of Richard Grenville, Esq., at this time member for the town of Buckingham, deputy-paymaster to the forces, and one of the lords of trade. In 1756 he was appointed a lord of the treasury, and died in 1783.

out hearing directly from myself. I am, with great truth and regard,

Sir, your most obedient,

and most humble servant,

THOMAS ORBY HUNTER.

THOMAS ORBY HUNTER, ESQ., TO MR. PITT.

Rotterdam, April 14, 1747, N. S.

SIR,

SINCE my last I have had nothing very material to trouble you with.

Lord Sandwich returned suddenly and unexpectedly from Breda yesterday. Perhaps the arrival of the young Pretender at Paris may have occasioned his coming away ; as I understand that gentleman's removal from Paris was the fixed preliminary to the first meeting at Breda.

It seems confirmed from all quarters, that of the French embarkation for Genoa, 1100 prisoners are sent to Savona by Mr. Medley ; about 400 men arrived in Genoa, and the rest were driven back into the ports of France.

The Duke is at Tilbourg. His kitchen was burnt down there, but no other harm done. Tomorrow our troops march out of Bois-le-duc, and next week I believe the whole will be assembled to commence operations. The French give out

they will come immediately to a decisive action ; if so, they certainly must be stronger than us, which I cannot believe, though I am still of opinion that our force will be far short of what we had reason to expect, and I believe the calculations I have sent you upon that head will be found not to fall very short of the reality.

I am, with great truth and esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient, &c., &c.,

THOS. ORBY HUNTER.

THOMAS ORBY HUNTER, ESQ., TO MR. PITT.

Rotterdam, April 21, N. S. 1747.

SIR,

SINCE I had the honour of writing my last to you, this country has been put into great confusion by the enemy's invading the island of Cadsand in Dutch Flanders, where they entered the 16th or 17th, and have possessed themselves of several posts and fastnesses there, so as to cut off all communication from Sluys, which is regularly invested and must fall in a few days, as there is a disappointment in the effect of the inundation, and but a weak garrison to defend it. Philippine is taken after a short resistance, and Sas Van Ghent invested. While this has been doing towards the coast, another body of the French have taken Perle

fort and the Doel, higher up the Scheldt; so that by this time they are masters of all that river to the sea on one side, so that we can have no navigation upon it, even up to Lillo. The Zealanders have taken up arms, 'tis said for a Stadtholder. God knows what this may produce! I hear the people of Amsterdam are very unwilling, even as yet, to look upon this violence as a breach of peace. All Dutch Flanders, reckoned strong both by art and situation, is lost as in a dream. If by connivance, what can we think? if by a fatality, I fear the people of this Government are of such a dejected complexion, as to be frightened by it into any compliance to the common enemy; against which there will be no remedy but an appeal to the populace, from those who are well-inclined patriots in the Government.

Our army moves to-day: the Dutch weakened by the detachments they are obliged to make to Zealand; the Austrians not all passed the Maese; yet I hope the French will not be stronger, as they have such separate corps another way; for the gain of a battle is, in my idea, the only thing that can give a turn to the success of the campaign, which has begun already so much against the interest of the common cause. The French secretary at the Hague gives out, that their army will move out of their lines to meet and give us battle; if so, I hope in a few days to write something that will make amends for the desponding letters I have hitherto been obliged to send you.

Two French Indiamen of their outward-bound fleet have been forced back by a storm ; one of them is lost coming into port. A French ship of war of forty guns has been so ill treated by one of our privateers, that she sunk coming into port, and all the people except the captain and five or six others were drowned. People are so frightened here, that all insurance upon homeward-bound ships was refused this day upon 'Change. Lord Sandwich is returned to Breda.

I am, with great truth, Sir,

Your most obedient, &c.,

THOS. ORBY HUNTER.

THOMAS ORBY HUNTER, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Rotterdam, April 25, 1747.

SIR,

I IMAGINE my last has given you curiosity enough to expect another letter from me by this post. Sluys is surrendered, but the news of the Philippines being taken was not true ; as it seems the inundations took place better there and at the Sas Van Ghent, so that it will cost the enemy some longer time to make themselves masters of them. The Zealanders continue in their vigorous resolution of defending themselves, and we have now ten men-of-war before the city of Middleburg, viz., Commodore Mitchell with five of his squadron, and such

convoys and cruizers as were near or at Helvoet. This seems to have given great satisfaction to the Dutch : to-morrow the states of Holland meet at the Hague, and we have great curiosity to hear what resolutions will be taken. Their determination, in my opinion, will turn upon which of their fears is the greatest, that of France, or that of the populace.

The army was to be all assembled on the 23d, and the Duke's quarters were last night at Alphen, within two good marches of the enemy. They were to move forward as this morning ; so that to-morrow may bring the two armies within sight of each other. I wish our heavy train may get up in time ; it has been long delayed for want of boats, most of which fitting for this service having been employed in carrying hay for the French to Antwerp ; who have kindly stopped their return.

Lord Sandwich is returned to the Hague, and, I believe, for some time. He told me that he had not seen the French ministers this last time at Breda ; perhaps for the reason I hinted to you in a former letter.

I am, with great truth, Sir,

Your most obedient, &c.,

THOS. ORBY HUNTER.

THOMAS ORBY HUNTER, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Rotterdam, May 9, 1747.

SIR,

THE great work I have been advising you of, in its progress, for some posts past, being now completed, the Prince of Orange being declared stadtholder of the Seven United Provinces, and general of the Union, I have nothing further to detain you upon that head, but to congratulate you upon such a happy prospect of giving a good turn to affairs in this dangerous crisis.

Upon the 3d of this month, the French attacked, with great fury, the fort of Sandberg, an important outwork of Hulst, but were beaten back. They have renewed the attack since in nine different assaults in the space of seven hours, which has proved very fatal to them, having lost, as is computed, upwards of two thousand men, and been obliged to retire. The post was defended by three Dutch battalions and the Royals; our loss is about five hundred men. Colonel Abercrombie is shot through the leg (some say killed), and Major Sir Charles Erskine is killed.

Our army is still in the same camp, waiting for the battering train, which is not yet gone from Dort. They are ill situated for forage, which is obliged to be carried to them in carts and wag-

gons five leagues, and one of the contractors informed me to-day, that the expense of this transporting amounts to 200*l.* per diem, which, for this month, will come to 6000*l.* : so I see no end to the expenses, which multiply in new shapes so fast, that I can form no judgment for a calculation of supply ; however, I hope success will make amends for this heavy, though unavoidable charge.

I am, Sir, &c.,

THOMAS ORBY HUNTER.

THOMAS ORBY HUNTER, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Rotterdam, July 7, 1747.

SIR,

UPON receiving the favour of your leave to attend my election in England ⁽¹⁾, I set out for Flushing to pass over to Dover ; but being there detained four days by a contrary wind, I was out of all time to expect to get soon enough for the election, which comes on this day ; so I returned yesterday.

I obeyed your commands in leaving the public service in careful good hands, and have not reassumed the direction since my return, for this reason : I intended to take your advice in it, had

(1) Mr. Orby Hunter represented the town of Winchelsea in parliament for more than twenty years.

I been so lucky as to have made my passage ; but that failing, I am obliged to this manner of acquainting you, that I have some doubt whether I can hold this employment with a seat in parliament, as the last place bill stands. Therefore, to avoid any inconveniency that may arise on that head, I hope you will think well of my resigning my employment as your deputy for the payment of the troops abroad, trusting, that, if it is consistent with my sitting in parliament, you will receive favourably my application to be continued in the office, but if it is not, that you will look upon me to have resigned. In the mean time, I have put every thing into the hands of Mr. Nichol, who was my chief clerk. As he acts in every particular under my eye, and by my advice, the public service has the same care as before, and I look upon myself to be bound and responsible to you for his care, fidelity, and discretion.

I have the less reason to beg that you will not think me guilty of the least slight to your friendship in this affair, as it is a transaction that cannot of itself exist, but under the supposition of having your leave ; and the suddenness of the occasion obliges me to have recourse to this formal expedient of caution, which I flatter myself you will approve of, when I shall inform you of my principal motive to it, a properer subject of conversation than a letter.

It grieves me that I have no better news to send you, than the inclosed relation of the unfortunate

battle of the 2d. ⁽¹⁾ Our army is marching down the Maese, so that the French will lay siege to Maestricht. Their accounts from Brussels make their loss 11,000 men. Colonel Conway is prisoner. The killed and wounded we have no certain accounts of. The lists will come out by next post, when I will send you the copies.

I am, with great regard, Sir, &c.

THOMAS ORBY HUNTER.

MR. PITT TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE. ⁽²⁾

[May —, 1747.]

MY LORD DUKE,

I CANNOT defer till your Grace's return from Clermont doing myself the honour to make a thousand acknowledgments for the favour of your

⁽¹⁾ The battle of Laffeldt, in which the Duke of Cumberland was defeated.

⁽²⁾ Thomas Pelham, eldest son of Lord Pelham, was born in 1693. By the will of his paternal uncle, John Holles Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, who died in 1711, he was left his adopted heir, assumed the name and arms of Holles, and succeeded to a great part of his vast estates. In 1715, he was created Duke of Newcastle, and, in the same year, he married the Lady Harriet, daughter of the Earl of Godolphin, and grand-daughter of John, Duke of Marlborough. In 1724, on the dismissal of Lord Carteret, he was appointed principal secretary of state; which situation he held till 1754, when he was appointed first lord of the treasury. He retired from public life in 1762, and died in 1768.

letter. I most heartily wish your Grace joy of this important defeat of the naval designs of France⁽¹⁾, which cannot fail to have considerable effects upon their affairs in general. As for me, I will own to your Grace my public joy is quite sunk in private concern. The high esteem and love I had for poor Grenville⁽²⁾, and what I feel for his most afflicted brothers, reduces me to the hard (and, I hope, pardonable) condition of being a mourner in the midst of public rejoicing. Your Grace's good-natured and humane attention for the family, at a time when you had not a moment's leisure, and so much else to engage your thoughts, I was sure would be felt in such a manner, that I lost no time in communicating it to all the brothers.⁽³⁾ They are most sincerely and sensibly touched with your Grace's goodness, and have desired me to assure your Grace, in the warmest manner, of the lasting

(1) The victory of Admiral Anson, off Cape Finisterre, on the 3d of May, in which he took six French men-of-war, several frigates, and great part of a numerous convoy.

(2) Captain Thomas Grenville, of the *Defiance*, who fell in the action. He was the fifth son of Richard Grenville, Esq., by Hester Temple, eldest daughter of Sir Richard Temple, Bart., of Stowe. He was a young man of the most amiable character and promising genius, and died universally lamented. He was severely wounded in the thigh, and submitted to his fate with the most heroic resignation. His last words were, "How much better it is to die thus, than to stand arraigned before a court-martial!" His uncle, Lord Cobham, erected a column to his memory in the gardens at Stowe.

(3) Richard, George, James, and Henry; whose only sister, Hester, Mr. Pitt afterwards married.

impressions it has made on them, and of the real obligation they feel for it.

I will trouble your Grace no longer than to assure you, that I have the honour to be, with the greatest truth and respect,

Your Grace's most devoted humble servant,

W. PITT.

THE HON. HENRY BILSON LEGGE⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Woburn Abbey, January 8, 1747-8.

DEAR SIR,

I SHALL always remember, with the greatest gratitude and affection, the kind concern you express for me, at a time when, if real consolation is to be obtained, I am sure it can only be derived from the friendship and society of such men as yourself. The loss of my brother⁽²⁾ was the stroke I dreaded most, and is the severest I could have felt; and

(¹) Mr. Legge was the fourth son of the Earl of Dartmouth, and, at this time, a lord of the treasury. A few days after this letter was written, he was appointed envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin; whence he returned in the following January. He became chancellor of the exchequer in March, 1754, and again in 1756. He was dismissed in 1761, and died August 23. 1764.

(²) The Hon. Edward Legge, fifth son of the Earl of Dartmouth. He was commodore of a squadron in the West Indies, and died there in September, 1746. He had recently been elected member for Portsmouth.

though I know nothing is more vain and childish than to lament the death of a mortal man, except founding one's happiness upon the life of a seaman, yet, to you, let me own my weakness. It has gone deep into that provision of happiness which I had foolishly laid up for my future life, and damped that ambition which could have been much more active in his behalf, than ever it will be in my own. It was one article of that ambition which I often counted upon, to have made him thoroughly known to you; and the more he had been so, I dare say, the higher he would have stood in your love and esteem. But these are the *frigida curarum fomenta*, which fill one's head all night long, and cannot be too soon forgotten. Poor Grenville⁽¹⁾ tries all he can to teach me that lesson, and, I am afraid, is very far from having learnt it himself.

I am sorry you do not give me a better account of your health: the word *middling* falls very short of my wishes upon that head; but I hope more Bath waters, the approach of the spring, much riding, and, let me throw into the prescription, another trip to the *Lodge*⁽²⁾, will perfectly re-

(1) The Hon. George Grenville, second son of Richard Grenville, Esq., at this time a lord of the treasury. In 1754, he was appointed treasurer of the navy; in May, 1762, secretary of state; in October of the same year, first lord of the admiralty; and, in 1763, first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. He resigned July, 1765, and died in November, 1770.

(2) South Lodge in Enfield Chase, a favourite retreat of Mr. Pitt; whose taste in laying out grounds was very great.

establish you. As to my own health, I never knew it more robust in my life.

I do assure you, dear Sir, I have often lamented that our acquaintance could not begin earlier ; but though our friendship was born late, it has brought a good constitution into the world with it, and I beg that the inference to be drawn may be, that we have the less time to lose in the mutual exercise of it. Believe me ever,

Your most faithful
and affectionate friend and humble servant,
H. B. LEGGE.

All here are well, and play strenuously at Brag every night.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Newcastle House, January 19, 1747-8.

DEAR SIR,

I AM extremely sorry to hear you are not quite free from your disorder. I hope, in a very short time, your health will be perfectly re-established.

One scene in the gardens of the Lodge, which was designed by him, that of the temple of Pan and its accompaniments, is mentioned by Mr. Whateley, in his "Observations on Modern Gardening," as one of the happiest efforts of well-directed and appropriate decoration.

The public, and your friends, are infinitely concerned in it. During your absence I have not failed to use my best endeavours towards promoting a perfect union and good correspondence with Prussia. I have, in some measure, succeeded beyond my expectations, though I cannot say I have had much assistance in it. The King has been pleased to agree to the instructions that were prepared ; and I scarce know what could be added to them. There may be some few things in which, I dare say, we shall meet with no difficulty.

The great point was to find a proper person ⁽¹⁾ to execute these instructions ; and I think I have thought of one, to whom the King has this day readily agreed. It is Mr. Harry Legge. There is capacity, integrity, quality, rank, and address — all necessary qualifications, and nobody can think that Mr. Legge is sent away at this time only to save appearances. However, I have the satisfaction to have done my part ; let others, if any there are,

(1) "Instead of deputing as ambassador to Berlin," observes Mr. Coxe, "a person of high distinction, who possessed the full confidence of his sovereign and was provided with specific instructions, much time was wasted in selecting an envoy, who was not, at last, entrusted with full powers. Sir Everard Fawkener was at first designated ; but, at length, the choice fell on Mr. Legge, who, though a man of great talents for business, was unfit for a foreign mission, and of a character ill suited to the temper of that 'powerful casuist, whose extraordinary dogmas were supported by 140,000 the most effectual but convincing arguments in the world.' His mission to Berlin only exposed him to the caprice and insolence of the Prussian monarch." — *Memoirs of Lord Walpole*, vol. ii. p. 304.

who blame me, do better ; more honestly, I am sure they cannot.

The last letters brought very good accounts from abroad. All apprehension of an attack upon Holland, during the winter, seems to be over. The Dutch are getting their troops together apace ; and Lord Sandwich thinks he may depend upon 40,000 Dutch, before the arrival of the Russians, who were to begin their march last Saturday. By the last letters it also seemed clear that the King of Prussia did not at present intend to give any disturbance ; so that I hope Mr. Legge, who will set out immediately, will find things in a tolerable good disposition there ; at least no party taken against us. I am, with the greatest respect, dear Sir,

Your most affectionate

humble servant,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

THE HON. HENRY BILSON LEGGE TO MR PITT.

Berlin, May 10-21, 1748.

DEAR PITT,

THOUGH it is too much the practice of god-fathers and godmothers to neglect all they promise and vow in the name of those they represent, yet give me leave to say, you, Sir, have made yourself

so responsible to the public for the conduct of your humble servant, that it imports you now and then to inquire a little what he is about. For my own part, I shall think I have a title to write to you, as much and as often as I please, and upon any thing I please ; and, however you may neglect your duty, I shall at least preserve the ancient and decent ceremony of asking your blessing from time to time.

In the first place, I congratulate you and every reasonable Englishman upon the signing of the preliminaries. ⁽¹⁾ As much as I leant that way from speculation only, before I left England, I own, when I took a nearer view of the state of affairs, saw how little promises of the most formal sort and performance tallied together, that we were growing ridiculous and contemptible, and should, as it were, *flagitio damnum addere*, my noble ardour for peace was greatly heightened. I think I may use that expression ; for, if I do not greatly mistake, true courage has, for some time past, lain on the side of peace.

In the mean while, I am far from despairing of the republic. The abilities and good intentions

(1) The preliminaries of a general peace, which had been signed at Aix, on the 19th of April. For taking the negotiation relative to the bishopric of Osnaburg out of the hands of the King's own agent at Berlin, and for an indiscreet expression imputed to him, that his majesty's arrival at Hanover had defeated this design, Mr. Legge incurred the royal displeasure to such a degree, that he was summoned to Hanover, and received a severe reprimand.—See *Coxe's Pelham*, vol. i. p. 441.

of some honest men I know, will, I dare say, in a few years, by the arts of peace and good economy, put England into more substantial health than violent remedies could ever have done ; and I know you hold for regimen against physic. Dispositions here are very favourable, at least in all appearance : much might have been done formerly by proper application, and still I think there is room to engage a great fund of the best appointed strength in the world, for the future security of the liberties of Europe. I hope we shall not lose time, or think of coquetting with a jilt, but bind her down by solemn league and covenant to her own true interest as well as ours, and the rather because, from the disgust it may possibly give, that we have been so unreasonable and absurd as to think of our own salvation, perhaps we may be obliged to come hither at last for a *succedaneum*. I hope that option will never be put to us, and that we shall be able to gain the one and keep the others ; but, at all events, I should think we ought not to lose any opportunity of gaining so powerful a coadjutor in the common cause.

You see I have repeated my catechism to you, though you have not called upon me, as you ought to have done. I hope you have perfectly recovered your health, and that the indisposition I left you under did not fasten upon you : change of air, travelling, and new occupations of mind have entirely restored me. I wish you would try the same remedy upon the same road, if you are

not already as great a despiser of medicine as I wish.
Believe me, dear Sir,

Your most faithful, and
affectionate humble servant,
H. B. LEGGE.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Newcastle House, March 31, 1750.

DEAR SIR,

As you are so good as to interest yourself in every thing that relates immediately to my brother and myself, and to express a very kind concern for the result of the conference which we had yesterday, and with the design of which I was weak enough to be pleased, I think, in justice and gratitude, I am obliged to give you an early account of what passed.

I am very sorry to say I found, at the first opening, that I was much mistaken in the motives that had produced it, which—instead of arising (as I had hoped) from an inclination to come to a perfect agreement upon the composition and situation of the administration at home (without which all other considerations are fruitless), and a mutual inclination and disposition to hear and understand one another upon points relative to foreign affairs, upon which there may have been difference of

opinion — the meeting was opened with oblique reflections, ill-natured constructions upon the conduct of foreign affairs for this last year, and direct complaint of the manner in which the Bavarian negotiation had been begun. This necessarily drew from me a justification of myself, the measures I had pursued, and particularly the conduct of the treaty with the Elector of Bavaria, which I did and do assert to be as agreeable, as the nature and form of business would admit, to what was determined with Mr. Pelham at our previous meeting; and this my Lord Chancellor⁽¹⁾ will testify, who was present at all that passed, and which you will yourself see by the draught of the article proposed, which I take the liberty to send you inclosed.

After these very useless and very disagreeable altercations about foreign affairs had taken up about two hours, as I was to leave England in less than three weeks, I thought it honest and necessary to consider the situation of things at home; which I had vainly thought had been one principal object of the meeting. I found an unwillingness to enter at all into it, and when I mentioned the late transaction about the Regency, a pretended ignorance of almost every thing relating to it. This laid me under a necessity of making a declaration, which I now repeat to you, that no considerations shall induce me to remain where I am, after my return to England, if things are to remain, in other respects,

(1) Philip Yorke, Lord Hardwicke.

as they are.⁽¹⁾ To which I had the answer I had reason, from the former part of our conference, to expect, viz., that I might do as I pleased, that my brother would neither *assist* nor *obstruct* any measure of that kind that I might propose.

Thus, Sir, you see I am left to myself, and to take care of myself. I shall do it in the best manner I can. I will do nothing rashly, and I hope I am incapable of taking any step that, by all impartial people, will not be thought becoming a sincere, honest man, a faithful servant and friend to my king and my country, and to those to

(1) "In addition to the difficulties which Mr. Pelham at this time experienced in conducting the measures of government in the House of Commons, against a violent opposition, supported by the influence of the Prince of Wales, he had to encounter further obstructions from the political rivalry subsisting between his brother and the Duke of Bedford, and the endless bickerings which arose from their discordant tempers. The independent spirit and impatience of control, which marked the character of the latter, soon produced such discordance, that the Duke of Newcastle made some ineffectual attempts to liberate himself from so intractable an associate in office. — But although the two brothers widely differed in opinion upon some particular points, and were occasionally so irritated, as to express their feelings in querulous language, yet their fraternal affection for each other was rather interrupted than diminished. The restoration of harmony was effectually aided by their common friends, the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Stone: in fact, their quarrels, if we may use so strong an expression, were invariably followed by a better understanding; and, as the Duke himself aptly observed in one of his letters, seemed to verify the adage of the poet —

Amantium iræ, amoris integratio est ! "

Coxe's Pelham, vol. ii. p. 108.

whom I *profess* friendship. Yours I always depend upon, and it shall be my study to convince you, that I am, in reality, what I now give under my hand, dear Sir,

Your very affectionate friend,
and obliged humble servant,
HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

P. S. I refer you for the truth of this relation to my Lord Chancellor and Mr. Stone, who were present. (1)

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Hanover, July 4-15, 1750. (2)

DEAR SIR,

ACCORDING to my promise, I take the opportunity of the first messenger, to repeat my thanks for the honour of your most affectionate letter, and to write more fully to you than I could do by the post.

(1) Andrew Stone, Esq., formerly private secretary to the Duke of Newcastle, but at this time under-secretary of state. He was greatly respected by the two brothers, and, as well as the Lord Chancellor, frequently acted as a mediator, in reconciling the differences between them. He afterwards filled the important office of sub-governor to Prince George. He was also appointed keeper of the State-Paper office, and, on the marriage of George the Third, treasurer to the Queen. He died in 1773.

(2) In his visit to Hanover, immediately after the close of the session, the King was accompanied by the Duke of Newcastle.

I must begin with what you are so good as to mention, and in the kindest manner to interest yourself in, — the satisfaction my brother had showed at the confidential intercourse there had been between us since I left England.⁽¹⁾ I had, I own, flattered myself before the receipt of your letter, that the unreservedness with which I had wrote upon all subjects, the strict adherence to what I had promised upon points where, perhaps, there might still remain some little difference of opinion, and the unexpected success (as far as present appearances could go) in all I had undertaken, and what he seemed to wish, had made a strong impression upon him, and in those hopes I was greatly confirmed by your letter; but I am sorry to say, that by some letters I have received since, my satisfaction is greatly abated. I find a great alteration in style and manner, little or no approbation of any thing, suspicions and jealousies without the least foundation, and contrary to direct and positive assurances; and, what is still worse, I can attribute this unaccountable and sudden change

(1) "I have had a long discourse with Pitt. He seems mighty happy with an opinion, that his interposition, and his truly friendly offices, have had a good effect in bringing you and me nearer to each other. I most sincerely desire you to go on in your correspondence with him, with all the frankness and cordiality you can; I do so, in all my conversations with him. I think him, besides, the most able and useful man we have amongst us; truly honourable, and strictly honest. He is as firm a friend to us, as we can wish for; and a more useful one there does not exist." Henry Pelham to the Duke of Newcastle.—*Newcastle Papers.*

to nothing but a confidential letter I wrote to him, wherein I expressed my thoughts upon the late public demonstrations which have been given by a part of the Royal Family, of preference, countenance, and *offensive* support of that part of the administration, which is so universally thought to be in opposition to *me*⁽¹⁾; and I could not but lament the weakness and unkindness of my particular friends, who had been drawn in to make part of the *show*:—and is *this* sufficient to give a different turn to all I am doing, and all I profess? Whether I shall keep my word or not, time will show—that I have kept it hitherto, facts, undeniable facts, do show.

The two points that you must remember were the most strongly recommended to me (with some sort of doubt and diffidence, as to the execution) were, first, the not concluding the treaty of Bavaria, without a positive or sufficient security for the electoral vote; the second, the setting immediately about that affair, and, if possible, the bringing it to bear, even this summer. Upon these

(1) “I think it a little hard, that the Duke of Cumberland and the Princess Amelia should use me so cruelly as they have done: excommunicate me from all society, set a kind of brand or mark upon me, and all who think with me, and set up a new, unknown, factious young party” [meaning Lord Sandwich and the Duke of Bedford] “to rival me, and nose me every where. This goes to my heart. I am sensible, if I could have submitted, and cringed to such usage, the public appearances would have been better, and perhaps some secret stabs been avoided; but I was too proud and too innocent, to do it.” The Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Pelham, Hague, May 9th-20th.—*Newcastle Papers*.

two points, I have not only acted up to, but gone much beyond what was prescribed me, or I believe, thought practicable by any one man alive. I have declared in writing, both to the court of Vienna and to the Elector of Bavaria, that if his Electoral Highness does not give us sufficient security, that he will give his vote for a King of the Romans (understood to be the Archduke Joseph), the King will not proceed in the negotiation with Bavaria ⁽¹⁾; and I have since declared shortly to M. Haslang ⁽²⁾, that the electoral vote is a condition *sine quâ non*, and that it is to no purpose to be spending time in negotiation: *with that*, we will agree; *without it*, we will not on any account whatever, and Haslang has no doubt of the compliance of his court.

I have wrote so strongly to the court of Vienna, of the necessity of their immediately setting about this work, and showing all possible and reasonable facilities on their part for the success of it, by re-

(1) "Notwithstanding the disputes on the Barrier treaty, the King endeavoured to secure the Imperial dignity in the Austrian family, and was anxious to prevent the evils, likely to result from a vacaney in the Imperial throne, by obtaining the election of the Archduke Joseph, as King of the Romans. This expedient had been occasionally adopted, when the heir of the reigning sovereign had attained his majority; but the young prince being only in his tenth year, the attempt to elect a minor was not justified by any precedent, since the accession of Rodolph of Hapsburg, the founder of the Austrian dynasty."
— *Coxe's Pelham Administration*, vol. ii. p. 119.

(2) Count Haslang, the Bavarian minister.

moving any cause of jealousy and uneasiness that the electors and princes of the empire may have, and particularly by redressing the grievances of the Protestants in the empire ; — that we have had the most affectionate, the most satisfactory, and the most promising answer from the court of Vienna, that the most sanguine man could wish or hope for ; and for the truth of all these facts, I appeal to papers in writing, and measures actually taken, pursuant to them. Orders are actually given for the redress of the principal grievances complained of by the Protestant princes, and the others put in a method of being tried, and determined according to the treaties : and to show the real desire of the Emperor and Empress to bring this great measure to perfection, and that forthwith ; an unexceptionable man of weight and confidence, perfectly versed in the laws and constitution of the empire, is not only named to come hither, but I believe actually upon the road, to concert the proper measures of immediately bringing about the election of the Archduke to be King of the Romans : and whilst we are thus negotiating, and fixing our objects with the courts of Vienna and Munich, we have not neglected others necessary for our great view ; and I do not say too much, if I assure you there is the greatest reason to think that we shall *very, very* soon be secure of the votes of Mayence, Treves, and Palatine ; which, with the Electors of Bavaria, Cologne, Bohemia, and Hanover, make seven out of the nine, and that, without

any further subsidy, but what is given to Cologne, and is now negotiating with Bavaria.

If this is brought about, I will say, let who will deny it, it is as great and as successful a negotiation, as ever was brought to perfection in time of peace; and one might say more, considering the present circumstances of Europe. If my expectations do not succeed, and I should miscarry in one, or in every point, there is no hurt done; there is no money given, but upon the very terms that were more wished than expected, when I left London; and you must remember the difficulty we had in wording an article, which is now proposed to be done, by a positive declaration in writing, to be given by Haslang, at the time of signing the treaty, though to be called *Déclaration Verbale*. To all this, the republic of Holland consents, and M. Hop is actually coming here, with ample power to sign the treaty of Bavaria, engaging to pay one third of the subsidy.

At the same time that I have been endeavouring to promote the success of a system, which I think will greatly tend to secure the future peace and tranquillity of Europe, in which we are so essentially concerned, I have not neglected the immediate interests of Great Britain, but have ordered such strong remonstrances to be made at the court of France, against the late violent and hostile proceedings of their governors in America, as have produced a direct disavowal of M. de la Jonquière, and of all their proceedings, a promise of redress

and satisfaction, and an admission by M. de Puis-sieulx ⁽¹⁾, that as what was done was within the *peninsula*, they could not be justified ⁽²⁾. My Lord Albemarle ⁽³⁾ had, as I wrote you word, done very well himself, before he received orders from hence ; but since the receipt of those orders, he has exerted [himself] further, and met with more success ; and I have had the mortification of a letter from my brother, “ that he feared, had my Lord Albemarle received *my strong orders*, he would not have had so satisfactory an answer ;” which since appears to be contrary to fact.

This is my comfort, and this is my reward ; but, however, I will do my duty, and hope this will pass over. I have also sent to the Duke of Bedford ⁽⁴⁾,

(1) The French secretary of state for foreign affairs.

(2) Notwithstanding the stipulation by treaty, that all things should remain on the same footing as before the war, the French made constant encroachments in America, and not only evinced an intention of appropriating the islands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica, which had hitherto been regarded as neutral, but had actually taken possession of Tobago, which was considered as belonging to England. The forcible remonstrances, however, of the Duke of Newcastle, induced them to abandon their settlements in Tobago, after having destroyed the forts ; but the evacuation of St. Lucia and St. Vincent was still delayed, under various pretences. See Coxe's *Pellam*, vol. ii. p. 123.

(3) William Anne Van Keppel, second Earl of Albemarle, ambassador at the Court of Versailles, knight of the garter, groom of the stole, &c. He died suddenly at Paris, December 22, 1754.

(4) John Russell, fourth Duke of Bedford, at this time joint secretary of state with the Duke of Newcastle. In 1757, he

that the Commissioners may be furnished with all the proofs to support our right to the *extended boundary*, and on no account to depart from it. The present disposition of the French ministry enables us to do these things, and talk this language, without running the risk of a rupture; and this, therefore, is the time when a king of the Romans should be elected, and every measure taken that is proper and necessary for future security, though perhaps it may not be agreeable to the wishes and future views of France.

As to my private negotiation with M. de Mirepoix ⁽¹⁾, it is now at a stand. I have had a letter from him, that they had made the proposal (it is Mirepoix's proposal) to Sweden, and that they had rejected it; so that we must wait, he says, for some other expedient, and recommends it to the King to be thinking of one, and gives great assurances of the French King's good disposition, and inclination to concur in any proper measure for the security of the peace of the North. I shall

was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland; in 1761, lord privy seal; in 1762, minister plenipotentiary to the court of France; and in 1763, president of the council. He died in 1771.

(1) The Marquis de Mirepoix, (afterwards Duke, and Marshal of France,) ambassador to England. "He was much esteemed," says Horace Walpole, "in England, having little of the manners of his country, where he had seldom lived; and, except a passion for dancing, and for the gracefulness of his own figure, there was nothing in his character that did not fall in naturally enough with the seriousness of the English and German courts." He died at Montpellier, in 1757.

answer him, that we can suggest nothing new ; we had suggested the giving reciprocal declarations, which France rejected ; he, Mirepoix, had proposed another expedient, which Sweden had rejected ; so we must endeavour to keep things quiet till some other method should offer. All parties are disposed to keep peace, and therefore *peace* will be kept. France is perfectly satisfied with us ; and indeed, they cannot be otherwise, when we would have accepted their own *proposal*.

I believe you begin, by this time, to be weary of your new correspondent. I never can be so, in writing to you, and opening my whole heart to you. I know your affection, and I know your discretion, and therefore I send you all these confidential particulars to make such use of as you think proper. If you cannot make a good one, I am sure you will make none at all. In all events, let me have the pleasure of hearing often and freely from you, but always by messengers. They come every Friday from London hither. Mr. Brown, at the Duke of Bedford's office, or Noble, the chamber-keeper of my office, will always convey your letters safe. The Duchess of Newcastle desires her compliments to you.

I am, dear Sir,

Ever most affectionately yours,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Hanover, August, 12—23, 1750.

DEAR SIR,

THOUGH I am quite tired with writing, I could not let the messenger go from hence with a treaty, made and signed by me, of the consequence of that concluded here last night, without saying one word upon it, to one who is so good as to interest himself in every thing that concerns me, and who is able to judge of what I do, and so desirous that it should be well done. I believe my brother will show you the account I send him of this whole transaction.⁽¹⁾ It has been carried on, and is now finished, upon the principles that he, you, and I, all agree in. I send you, in the greatest secrecy and confidence, a copy of the declaration for the electoral vote: nothing can be stronger, and it is plainly a condition of the treaty. The subsidy is indeed continued for six years; but the Empress Queen takes one fourth part of it upon her, and the Elector of Bavaria accepts that and has discharged us of it, so that we have all the benefit of

(¹) "Your account of Pitt gives me great pleasure, and the more, as it is accompanied with the kindest reflection, from yourself, imaginable. I wish you would show him my letter about our foreign affairs; I believe it would please him. I shall write him two words by this messenger." Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Pelham, August 12-23. 1750.

the treaty for two years longer, and only pay 13,000*l.* more in the six years.

I think I have been a good economist for the public ; at least I hope my friends will be pleased with me. This certainly lays a foundation of a solid system for the preservation of the peace, without giving offence to any body. But I am enlarging further than my time permits ; I cannot avoid, however, thanking you for that kind and affectionate and successful part you have acted with my brother and I. He is as full of it as I am ; we are both truly grateful and truly obedient. I have received the kindest and the wisest letter that ever man wrote. I have wrote him as kind a one in answer, and I hope as wise a one, because I entirely give myself up to his advice. I can say no more at present ; I am full of business, full of joy upon public transactions, full of the goodness of my friends, and if I hear a good account of my dear friend, the Duke of Richmond, full of joy upon all accounts, and

Ever and unalterably yours,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

MR. PITT TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Pay-Office, August 24, 1750.

MY LORD,

I FOUND, upon my return from Stowe last night, the honour of your Grace's most obliging letter of

the 12th, O. S. The contents of it have filled me with every kind of satisfaction. I rejoice on the public account at the success of a most wise and salutary measure; I rejoice most sincerely on your Grace's personal account, that the King, the nation, and all Europe owe this to your honest and able conduct; and let me add, the private and particular joy I feel in the justice your Grace does me to believe, that I warmly interest myself for your success and your glory. I think the last word not at all too strong for the event; provided the election of the Archduke be accomplished, in consequence of the treaty you have been able to carry through so many difficulties, to a happy conclusion. The object all must applaud, and the greatest economists cannot complain of the expense; for it is but justice to own, you have paid with ability more than with money. May this great work go forward, and your Grace will bring the King home to meet the nation, with as much lustre as his most faithful and zealous servants need to wish.

I find Mr. Pelham in the highest satisfaction at this event, and truly happy with the kind correspondence between you. You are both infinitely too good to mention, as you are pleased to do, my poor little part between you. My good wishes were sincere, and wishing well was all I could possibly have to do. I should be foolishly vain with a witness, if I ascribed the least part of the perfect union between you to any thing but your

own good hearts and understandings. I need say nothing of the interior of administration. Your Grace and Mr. Pelham, united as you are, must certainly be masters to give it such a shape as may best suit your situations and views; of which you alone must be judges. Whatever determination you come to, I heartily wish it may more and more secure and strengthen power and authority in your hands.

I congratulate your Grace on the Duchess of Newcastle's recovery, and beg leave to assure her Grace of my most respectful compliments. I am truly sorry to have condolence to mix with so much joy and congratulation. I heartily lament your great loss of the Duke of Richmond.¹

I am, with perfect attachment,

Your Grace's most devoted humble servant,

W. PITT.

(¹) Charles Lennox, second Duke of Richmond, knight of the garter, and master of the horse. He died August 8, 1750, at the age of forty-nine. "Death or retreat," writes Mr. Pelham to his brother, "has taken away all our old friends and fellow servants, the Duke of Grafton, Lord Chancellor, and yourself excepted. In a little while there will be but one man in the cabinet council, with whom we began the world, or carried on business, till within these very few years. I own this reflection often strikes me, and makes me greatly fear new experiments. It is extraordinary that three of our own ages, pretty near, all old and intimate acquaintance, should die out of that body in less than a year." — *Newcastle Papers*. The two other friends here alluded to were Henry Herbert, ninth Earl of Pembroke, who died suddenly, January 9, 1749–50, in his forty-eighth year; and John, Duke of Montagu, master

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Hanover, September 9—20, 1750.

DEAR SIR,

THE kind approbation you have been pleased to give of the success of my endeavours for the public service, has made all the impression that must arise to one who knows the value of your friendship, and the weight and consequence of your opinion, as well as I do. I have not failed to acquaint the King with that proper zeal, satisfaction, and regard for his Majesty's honour and service, which is shewed in your letter, and I may say, it was not thrown away.

I have had further difficulties with Bavaria. I think they will all be got over by to-morrow night, and the ratifications exchanged. I think our affair at home will take a very lucky turn. The King proposes *himself*, and *from himself*, an alteration, and I have some reason to hope that such a one may be found out, as may be accepted with pleasure, at least seemingly so. My brother will explain this further to you, more fully than I have time to do at present, the messenger being just setting out. I take most kindly the part you

general of the ordnance, who died, July 6, 1749, in the same year of his age.

take in my late inexpressible loss, and in every thing that concerns me. The Duchess of Newcastle begs her most sincere thanks for your concern for her.

I am ever, dear Sir,
most affectionately yours,
HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

P. S. I believe the 22d of October, O. S., his Majesty will leave this place, on his return to England.

MR. PITT TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

[*Extract of a Letter.* Date probably October, —, 1750.]

THE alteration thought of at home I have always seen so full of difficulties in itself and in the consequential arrangements, that I felicitate your Grace upon seeing your way through it. Whatever it be the King proposes in this matter, *himself*, and from *himself* (as your Grace terms it), I can only say with great truth for one, that I wish it may meet with perfect acquiescence from all quarters. I find Mr. Pelham (whatever inconveniences he may apprehend) in all the general dispositions to acquiesce and accommodate, that your Grace could wish. I understand from him, that the arrangement for the Duke of Bedford will probably

lie between master of the horse and President; and fortunate I shall think it, if he is quieted and disarmed by either; which it is, I imagine not very material.

I cannot conclude without assuring your Grace of my warmest gratitude for the kind use you were so good as to make of some expressions in my letter: nothing can touch me so sensibly as any good office in that place, where I deservedly stand in need of it so much, and where I have it so much at heart to efface the past by every action of my life. I am,

Your Grace's most devoted,
and most obedient, &c.,
W. PITT. ⁽¹⁾

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY PELHAM TO MR. PITT.

October 12, 1750.

DEAR SIR,

I CANNOT help sending to you the most agreeable public news I have received since the treaty of Aix. Last night came an express from Mr.

(1) The part which Mr. Pitt had taken against the system of foreign subsidies was very displeasing to the King; nor did his Majesty ever entirely forgive the vigorous opposition which had been made by him in Parliament, in 1743 and 1744, to the measures proposed for the defence of Hanover.

Keene⁽¹⁾, with a treaty signed by him and Mr. Carvajal.⁽²⁾ I had but just time to read it cursorily over, but I think it answers almost all our great national points. It may to willing minds, be liable to cavil, and some popular objections; but, on the whole, to those who really know our situation both at home and abroad, in my poor opinion, it must rather seem a wonderful event, that Spain should separately conclude with us, at a time when France is, if she knew it, in a condition almost to dictate her own terms to all Europe. I hope and believe, when you see it and consider the whole, you will be of opinion, that my friend Keene has acted ably, honestly, and bravely; but, poor man! he is so sore with old bruises, that he still feels the smart, and fears another thrashing.⁽³⁾ I know nothing of what our brethren, here or abroad, think of what he has done. I know he was authorised to close with worse conditions; and therefore, excepting to yourself, I have only told the fact, that a treaty is signed. When I know more, and hear more, you shall have another letter from me. What strikes me the most is, that we now know the ground we

(1) Benjamin Keene, afterwards knight of the bath, for many years British ambassador at the Court of Madrid.

(2) Don Joseph Carvajal, the favourite minister of Ferdinand VI.

(3) Mr. Keene had been much abused by the Opposition in Sir Robert Walpole's time, under the name of "Don Benjamin," for having concluded the Convention with Spain, in 1739.

stand upon : there can be no resort to quibbles or doubtful constructions ; the thing is right or wrong, and that is always to be governed by times and circumstances.

I had a letter from the Duke of Newcastle this day. He sets out from Hanover next Monday, but as he takes a circuit, not only to Looe and the Hague, but afterwards to Calais, where he meets the Duchess of Newcastle, I question whether he will be in England before the King. His Majesty has not positively named the day that he will leave Hanover ; but most people agree that it will be the 29th or 30th of this month. If so, he cannot be here till the second week in November ; and as I understand he will keep his birthday in a short time after he comes here, I thought you would be willing to know how the Hanover disposition was, that you might order your affairs accordingly.

I conclude we shall scarce see you, till the time of his Majesty's intended arrival. I own I don't wish it, for I am satisfied the Bath waters will do you good ; and if I see rightly into our domestic affairs, I should be sorry to think of your returning to Bath, after we have once seen you here.

I could give you, at the close of this letter, a disagreeable account of a certain correspondence ; but, as I am determined it shall have no effect, I think it as prudent not to mention it at all. If national things go right, and we are to deal with honest gamesters, whether they play well or ill,

cunningly, or foolishly, good cards will win the game. You see I am in spirits, notwithstanding what I conceal. I shall now set heartily to work with the South Sea Company, and if I can bring them into terms, in my department, all will go well. The Bank and I are agreed; they will pay off all the unsubscribed annuities at their House and the Exchequer, and take 3 per cent. I hope the South Sea will do the same.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

H. PELHAM.

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY PELHAM TO MR. PITT.

October 20, 1750.

DEAR SIR,

I SEND you, according to your desire, an exact copy of the treaty lately concluded at Madrid, and as Mr. John Pitt ⁽¹⁾ will deliver it into your own hands, there is no danger of its falling into any other. I am no great critic in treaties, but I think this is a plain renewal of all the advantageous ones we have had with Spain; that of 1670, which I understand is what they call the American treaty, is confirmed by the treaty of Aix, and of consequence is included in that. Every article of

(1) Son of George Pitt, Esq. of Strathfieldsay, at this time one of the lords of trade, and member for Wareham.

the treaty of 1715 is specifically mentioned in this, excepting that agreement which was made between some of our merchants and the people of St. Andero in the year 1700. *That* Spain would on no account come into, as thinking it repugnant to their own honour and sovereignty amongst themselves. I have made some inquiry into it, and find it was rather a puff of the times than any thing essential in itself; no use has been made of it from that time to this, nor have any of our merchants ever applied about it. The great thing is done; we know the ground we stand upon, and a friendly treaty is concluded between us and Spain, without the intervention of any other power. The sum paid to the South Sea Company is small: they think so, and will therefore hope for better terms from us than I am willing to give them. Some advantages they ought to have, and I will work hard to bring them into reasonable ones.

There is no news from Hanover by the last mail. The Duke of Newcastle did design setting out as last Monday, but I conclude this treaty will keep him a day or two longer. No one thinks of the King being here before the 4th of November; I hope we shall see him by that time, or soon after. I find Jack Pitt is very anxious about quitting his seat in Parliament, in order to be chosen at Dorchester. (1) You know the only diffi-

(1) In the following January, he vacated his seat for Wareham, and was elected for Dorchester.

culty. I have assured him I will do my best when the King comes over ; had I left it to be managed at Hanover, I am morally sure it would not have ended well. But I hope, when I can speak myself, it will do. I must beg you to make him easy. I believe he is satisfied as to my intentions, and I should do wrong by him, if I was to venture the success, for the sake of saying I have wrote strong upon the subject.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most faithful and

most obedient Servant,

H. PELHAM.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Claremont, November 17, 1750.

DEAR SIR,

YOUR goodness to me encourages me to give you the trouble of reading a voluminous correspondence ; at the same time that it convinces me, I may do it with the utmost security. You will see by the particulars in the inclosed letters, how hard my fate is. I think it is impossible for one brother to write more truly through heart and soul to another than I do, and that in the most affectionate manner ; no single circumstance concealed, or any forced construction put upon any part of my intelligence. Of what nature are the

answers, you will now be able to judge. There are two things, I think plain : first, that the notion of removing the Duke of Bedford came originally and solely from the King, without any condition or restriction of his Grace's consent to take any other place, and at first, without even the condition of the consent of the Council, which was added afterwards. Secondly, that my good brother was always afraid lest it should take place, even though both the King and the Duke of Bedford should agree to it. And yet I am so unhappy, that his Majesty now is pleased to say he never meant any thing further than that the Duke of Bedford should exchange his employment, if it was agreeable to him, and *not otherwise*, and my brother now affirms he wishes the exchange upon that condition.

I have in these letters sufficiently showed him the terrible situation I should be left in. That at least, I think, should have made him more cautious ; but the bait was too strong to be lost, and the opportunity too good to be neglected. The thing is over, and I am every hour more convinced that it is impossible for me to stay with ease and reputation, much less with credit and influence. I shall take an opportunity of talking to the King ; after that, upon full consultation with you and my Lord Chancellor, I must take my resolution. ⁽¹⁾

(1) The Duke's threats of resignation were not put into execution ; but his displeasure against his brother was carried to such a degree, that all private intercourse between them was suspended. However, in the following January, an overture

There are many things in these letters that concern third persons whom I love and honour. I am sure that part also is safe with you; I show you the whole, because I will conceal nothing, that you may judge the better what advice to give to him, who, you see is without reserve,

Dear Sir,

Most sincerely and affectionately yours,
HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

MR. PITT TO HORATIO WALPOLE, ESQ. (1)

December 3, 1750.

DEAR SIR,

I RETURN you, with a thousand thanks, the observations on the Spanish treaty⁽²⁾; which are so material and instructive, that I could have wished to have kept them longer in my hands. I

made by Mr. Pelham, through the medium of his son-in-law, the Earl of Lincoln, was readily accepted by the Duke, and a cordial reconciliation ensued.

(1) In June, 1756, created Baron Walpole, of Wolterton. He died in the following February, in his seventy-ninth year.

(2) Having discovered, what he considered an important omission in the definitive treaty of Aix, Mr. Walpole drew up some observations, which he styled a Rhapsody of Foreign Politics. "I shall communicate them," he says, in a letter to Lord Hardwicke, "to none but friends, and to but few of them. Mr. William Pitt, who I look upon as very zealous for the administration and very discreet as well as able, has had a perusal of them."

shall, with great pleasure, take the first opportunity of waiting on you, in hopes of some farther conversation upon this very national concern. I am, with a very sincere sense of your great goodness to me,

Your, &c. &c.,

W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS PITT, ESQ. (1)

[September —, 1751 ?] (2)

MY DEAR CHILD,

I AM extremely pleased with your translation now it is writ over fair. It is very close to the sense of the original, and done, in many places, with much spirit, as well as the numbers not lame, or rough. However, an attention to Mr. Pope's numbers will make you avoid some ill

(1) Thomas Pitt was the only son of Mr. Pitt's elder brother, Thomas Pitt of Boconnock in the county of Cornwall. He was born in March 1737, and sat in several parliaments for the borough of Old Sarum, of which he was the proprietor. He was appointed a lord of the admiralty in 1763, and created Lord Camelford in 1783. In July 1771, he married Anne, daughter and co-heir of Pinkney Wilkinson of Burnham in Norfolk, by whom he had one son, Thomas, his successor, who was killed in a duel in 1804, and one daughter, Anne, who was married, in 1792, to William Lord Grenville. He died at Florence in 1793.

(2) The above is the first of a series of twenty-three letters, written by Mr. Pitt to his nephew, and published by Lord Grenville, in 1804. They are introduced by the following appropriate Dedication and Preface : —

sounds, and hobbling of the verse, by only transposing a word or two, in many instances. I have,

“ TO THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT.

Dropmore, December 3, 1803.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ When you expressed to me your entire concurrence in my wish to print the following letters, you were not apprized that this address would accompany them. By you it will, I trust, be received as a testimony of affectionate friendship. To others the propriety will be obvious of inscribing with your name a publication, in which Lord Chatham teaches how great talents may most successfully be cultivated, and to what objects they may most honourably be directed.

“ GRENVILLE.”

“ PREFACE.

“ The following letters were addressed by the late Lord Chatham to his nephew, Mr. Pitt, (afterwards Lord Camelford) then at Cambridge. They are few in number, written for the private use of an individual during a short period of time, and containing only such detached observations on the extensive subjects to which they relate, as occasion might happen to suggest in the course of familiar correspondence. Yet even these imperfect remains will undoubtedly be received by the public with no common interest, as well from their own intrinsic value, as from the picture which they display of the character of their author. The editor's wish to do honour to the memory both of the person by whom they were written, and of him to whom they were addressed, would alone have rendered him desirous of making these papers public. But he feels a much higher motive in the hope of promoting by such a publication the inseparable interests of learning, virtue, and religion. By the writers of that school, whose philosophy consists in the degradation of virtue, it has often been triumphantly declared, that no excellence of character

upon reading the eclogue over again, altered the third, fourth, and fifth lines, in order to bring them

can stand the test of close observation; that no man is a hero to his domestic servants, or to his familiar friends. How much more just, as well as more amiable and dignified, is the opposite sentiment, delivered to us in the words of Plutarch, and illustrated throughout all his writings! ‘Real virtue,’ says that inimitable moralist, ‘is most loved where it is most nearly seen: and no respect which it commands from strangers can equal the never-ceasing admiration it excites in the daily intercourse of domestic life.’ Τῆς ἀληθινῆς ἀρετῆς κάλλιστα φαίνεται τὰ μάλιστα φαινόμενα* καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐδὲν οὕτω θαυμάσιον τοῖς ἐκτὸς, ὥς ὁ κατ’ ἡμέραν βίος τοῖς συνοῦσιν. — Plut. Vit. Periclis.

“The following correspondence, imperfect as it is, (and who will not lament that many more such letters are not preserved?) exhibits a great orator, statesman, and patriot, in one of the most interesting relations of private society. Not, as in the cabinet or the senate, enforcing by a vigorous and commanding eloquence those councils to which his country owed her pre-eminence and glory; but implanting, with parental kindness, into the mind of an ingenuous youth, seeds of wisdom and virtue, which ripened into full maturity in the character of a most accomplished man: directing him to the acquisition of knowledge *, as the best instrument of action; teaching him by the cultivation of his reason, to strengthen and establish in his heart those principles of moral rectitude which were congenial to it; and, above all, exhorting him to regulate the whole conduct of his life by the predominant influence of gratitude, and obedience to God, as the only sure groundwork of every human duty.

“What parent anxious for the character and success of a son, born to any liberal station in this great and free country,

* Ingenium illustre altioribus studiis juvenis admodum dedit; non ut nomine magnifico segne otium velaret, sed quo firmior adversus fortuita Rempublicam capesseret. — TACITUS.

nearer to the Latin, as well as to render some beauty, which is contained in the repetition of words in tender passages; for example:—

“ Nos patriæ fines, et dulcia linquimus arva;
Nos patriam fugimus: tu, Tityre, lentus in umbrâ,
Formosam resonare doces Amaryllida sylvas.”

“ We leave our native land, these fields so sweet;
Our country leave: at ease, in cool retreat,
You, Thyrsis, bid the woods fair Daphne’s name repeat.”

would not, in all that related to his education, gladly have resorted to the advice of such a man? What youthful spirit, animated by any desire of future excellence, and looking for the gratification of that desire, in the pursuits of honourable ambition, or in the consciousness of an upright, active, and useful life, would not embrace with transport any opportunity of listening on such a subject to the lessons of Lord Chatham? They are here before him. Not delivered with the authority of a preceptor, or a parent, but tempered by the affection of a friend towards a disposition and character well entitled to such regard.

“ On that disposition and character the editor forbears to enlarge. Their best panegyric will be found in the following pages. Lord Camelford is there described such as Lord Chatham judged him in the first dawn of his youth, and such as he continued to his latest hour. The same suavity of manners and steadiness of principle, the same correctness of judgment and integrity of heart, distinguished him through life; and the same affectionate attachment from those who knew him best has followed him beyond the grave.

Quæ Gratia vivo
— Eadem sequitur tellure repòstum! ”

The remainder of this excellent preface will be found appended, in the way of notes, to the letters to which they especially refer. The letters of Mr. Thomas Pitt to his Uncle are now for the first time printed.

I will desire you to write over another copy with this alteration, and also to write “smoaks” in the plural number, in the last line but one.

You give me great pleasure, my dear child, in the progress you have made. I will recommend to Mr. Leech to carry you quite through Virgil’s *Æneid* from beginning to ending. Pray show him this letter, with my service to him, and thanks for his care of you. For English poetry, I recommend Pope’s translation of Homer, and Dryden’s *Fables* in particular. I am not sure, if they are not called *Tales* instead of *Fables*. Your cousin, whom I am sure you can overtake if you will, has read Virgil’s *Æneid* quite through, and much of Horace’s *Epistles*. Terence’s plays I would also desire Mr. Leech to make you perfect master of. Your cousin has read them all. Go on, my dear, and you will at least equal him. You are so good that I have nothing to wish but that you may be directed to proper books; and I trust to your spirit, and desire to be praised for things that deserve praise, for the figure you will hereafter make.

God bless you, my dear child.

Your most affectionate uncle,

W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS PITT, ESQ.

Bath, October 12, 1751.

MY DEAR NEPHEW,

As I have been moving about from place to place, your letter reached me here, at Bath, but very lately, after making a considerable circuit to find me. I should have otherwise, my dear child, returned you thanks for the very great pleasure you have given me, long before now. The very good account you give me of your studies, and that delivered in very good Latin for your time, has filled me with the highest expectation of your future improvements. I see the foundation so well laid, that I do not make the least doubt but you will become a perfect good scholar; and have the pleasure and applause that will attend the several advantages hereafter, in the future course of your life, that you can only acquire now by your emulation and noble labours in the pursuit of learning, and of every acquirement that is to make you superior to other gentlemen.

I rejoice to hear that you have begun Homer's Iliad; and have made so great a progress in Virgil. I hope you taste and love those authors particularly. You cannot read them too much: they are not only the two greatest poets, but they contain the finest lessons for your age to imbibe: lessons of honour, courage, disinterestedness, love of truth, command of temper, gentleness of be-

haviour, humanity, and in one word, virtue in its true signification. Go on, my dear nephew, and drink as deep as you can of these divine springs: the pleasure of the draught is equal at least to the prodigious advantages of it to the heart and morals. I hope you will drink them as somebody does in Virgil, of another sort of cup:

“ Ille impiger hausit spumantem pateram.”

I shall be highly pleased to hear from you, and to know what authors give you most pleasure. I desire my service to Mr. Leech: pray tell him I will write to him soon about your studies.

I am, with the greatest affection,

My dear child,

Your loving uncle,

W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO HORATIO WALPOLE, ESQ.

[February —, 1752.] .

DEAR SIR,

I RETURN you the packet you were so good as to send me, together with a thousand thanks for the favour. Your speech⁽¹⁾ contains much very weighty

(¹) The speech here referred to is one made by Mr. (afterwards Lord) Walpole in the House of Commons, on the 22d of January, on the subsidy to the elector of Saxony. “Mr. Pitt,” says Coxe, “although he had warmly defended the Bavarian treaty, coincided with Mr. Walpole in disapproving

matter, and, from beginning to end, breathes the spirit of a man who loves his country. If your endeavours contribute to the honest end you aim at, namely, to check foreign expenses, and prevent entanglements abroad, under a situation burdened and exhausted at present, and liable to many alarming apprehensions in futurity, you deserve the thanks of this generation, and will have those of the next.

I am, with great regard, dear Sir,

Your most obedient,

and most humble servant,

W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS PITT, ESQ.

Bath, Jan. 12, 1754.

MY DEAR NEPHEW,

YOUR letter from Cambridge affords me many very sensible pleasures: first, that you are at last in a proper place for study and improvement, instead of losing any more of that most precious thing, time, in London; in the next place, that you seem pleased with the particular society you are placed in, and with the gentleman to whose care and instructions

the new subsidiary treaties, was much struck with this effusion, and requested him to consign it to writing." — *Memoirs of Lord Walpole*, vol. ii. p. 340.

you are committed; and above all, I applaud the sound, right sense, and love of virtue, which appear through your whole letter. You are already possessed of the true clue to guide you through this dangerous and perplexing part of your life's journey, the years of education; and upon which, the complexion of all the rest of your days will infallibly depend: I say, you have the true clue to guide you, in the maxim you lay down in your letter to me; namely, that the use of learning is, to render a man more wise and virtuous, not merely to make him more learned. *Macte tuâ virtute.* Go on, my dear boy, by this golden rule, and you cannot fail to become every thing your generous heart prompts you to wish to be, and that mine most affectionately wishes for you.

There is but one danger in your way; and that is, perhaps, natural enough to your age—the love of pleasure, or the fear of close application and laborious diligence. With the last, there is nothing you may not conquer; and the first is sure to conquer and enslave whoever does not strenuously and generously resist the first allurements of it, lest by small indulgences, he fall under the yoke of irresistible habit. “*Vitanda est improba siren, Desidia,*” I desire may be affixed to the curtains of your bed, and to the walls of your chambers. If you do not rise early, you never can make any progress worth talking of; and another rule is, if you do not set apart your hours of reading, and

never suffer yourself or any one else to break in upon them, your days will slip through your hands unprofitably and frivolously ; unpraised by all you wish to please, and really unenjoyable to yourself. Be assured, whatever you take from pleasure, amusements, or indolence, for these first few years of your life, will repay you a hundred fold, in the pleasures, honours, and advantages of all the remainder of your days.

My heart is so full of the most earnest desire that you should do well, that I find my letter has run into some length, which you will, I know, be so good [as] to excuse. There remains now nothing to trouble you with, but a little plan for the beginning of your studies, which I desire, in a particular manner, may be exactly followed in every tittle. You are to qualify yourself for the part in society to which your birth and estate call you. You are to be a gentleman of such learning and qualifications as may distinguish you in the service of your country hereafter ; not a pedant, who reads only to be called learned, instead of considering learning as an instrument only for action. Give me leave, therefore, my dear nephew, who have gone before you, to point out to you the dangers in your road ; to guard you against such things, as I experience my own defects to arise from ; and at the same time, if I have had any little successes in the world, to guide you to what I have drawn many helps from.

I have not the pleasure of knowing the gentle-

man who is your tutor, but I dare say he is every way equal to such a charge, which I think no small one. You will communicate this letter to him, and I hope he will be so good [as] to concur with me, as to the course of study I desire you may begin with, and that such books, and such only, as I have pointed out, may be read. They are as follow: Euclid; a course of Logic; a course of experimental Philosophy; Locke's Conduct of the Understanding; his treatise also on the Understanding; his treatise on Government, and Letters on Toleration. I desire, for the present, no books of poetry, but Horace and Virgil: of Horace the Odes, but above all, the Epistles and Ars Poetica. These parts, "*nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ.*" Tully de Officiis, de Amicitia, de Senectute; his Catilinarian Orations and Philippics. Sallust. At leisure hours, an abridgment of the History of England to be run through, in order to settle in the mind a general chronological order and series of principal events, and succession of kings. Proper books of English history, on the true principles of our happy constitution, shall be pointed out afterwards. Burnet's History of the Reformation, abridged by himself, to be read with great care. Father Paul on beneficiary Matters, in English. ⁽¹⁾ A French master, and only

(1) A translation of father Paul Sarpi's "History of Ecclesiastical Benefices, with notes and observations by Amelot de la Houssaie," appeared in 1727. Orme, in his *Bibliotheca Biblica*, describes it as "a work which does great honour to the talents and character of its amiable author."

Molière's plays to be read with him, or by yourself, till you have gone through them all. Spectators, especially Mr. Addison's papers, to be read very frequently at broken times in your room. I make it my request, that you will forbear drawing totally while you are at Cambridge, and not meddle with Greek ⁽¹⁾, otherwise than to know a

(1) "It will be obvious to every reader, on the slightest perusal of Mr. Pitt's letters to his nephew, that they were never intended to comprise a perfect system of education, even for the short portion of time to which they relate. Many points in which they will be found deficient were, undoubtedly, supplied by frequent opportunities of personal intercourse, and much was left to the general rules of study established at an English university. Still less therefore should the temporary advice addressed to an individual, whose previous education had laboured under some disadvantage, be understood as a general dissuasive from the cultivation of Grecian literature. The sentiments of Lord Chatham were in direct opposition to any such opinion. The manner in which, even in these letters, he speaks of the first of poets, and the greatest of orators, and the stress which he lays on the benefits to be derived from their immortal works, could leave no doubt of his judgment on this important point. That judgment was afterwards most unequivocally manifested, when he was called upon to consider the question with a still higher interest, not only as a friend and guardian, but also as a father.

"A diligent study of the poetry, the history, the eloquence, and the philosophy of Greece, an intimate acquaintance with those writings which have been the admiration of every age, and the models of all succeeding excellence, would undoubtedly have been considered by him as an essential part of any general plan for the education of an English gentleman, born to share in the councils of his country. Such a plan must also have comprised a much higher progress, than is here traced out, in mathematics, in the science of reason, in natural and in moral

little the etymology of words in Latin, or English, or French ; nor to meddle with Italian.

philosophy* ; including in the latter the proofs and doctrines of that revelation by which it has been perfected. Nor would the work have been considered by him as finished, until on these foundations there had been built an accurate knowledge of the origin, nature, and safeguards of government and civil liberty ; of the principles of public and municipal law ; and of the theory of political, commercial, financial, and military administration, as resulting from the investigations of philosophy, and as exemplified in the lessons both of ancient and of modern history. ‘ I call that,’ says Milton, ‘ a complete and generous education, which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously, all the offices, both public and private, of peace and war.’

“ This is the purpose to which all knowledge is subordinate ; the test of all intellectual and all moral excellence. It is the end to which the lessons of Lord Chatham are uniformly directed. May they contribute to promote and encourage its pursuit ! Recommended, as they must be, to the heart of every reader, by their warmth of sentiment and eloquence of language ; deriving additional weight from the affectionate interest by which they were dictated ; and most of all enforced by the influence of his own great example, and by the authority of his venerable name.” — *Lord Grenville*.

* “ A passage has been quoted above (see p. 59.) from the *Life of Pericles*. The editor cannot refrain from once more referring his reader to the same beautiful work, for the description of the benefits which that great statesman derived from the study of natural philosophy. ‘ The lessons of Anaxagoras,’ says our author, ‘ gave elevation to his soul, and sublimity to his eloquence ; they diffused over the whole tenor of his life a temperate and majestic grandeur ; taught him to raise his thoughts from the works of Nature to the contemplation of that PERFECT and PURE INTELLIGENCE from which they originate ; and (as Plutarch expresses it in words that might best describe a Christian philosopher), instilled into his mind, instead of the dark and fearful superstition of his times, that piety which is confirmed by Reason and animated by Hope : ἀντὶ τῆς φοβερᾶς καὶ φλεγμαινούσης δεισιδαιμονίας τὴν ασφαλῇ μετ’ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν εὐσεβείαν ἐνεργάζετο.’ ” — *Lord Grenville*.

I hope this little course will soon be run through. I intend it as a general foundation for many things, of infinite utility, to come as soon as this is finished.

Believe me, with the truest affection, my dear Nephew,

Ever yours,
W. PITT.

Keep this letter and read it again.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS PITT, ESQ.

Bath, January 14, 1754.

MY DEAR NEPHEW,

YOU will hardly have read over one very long letter from me, before you are troubled with a second. I intended to have writ soon, but I do it the sooner on account of your letter to your aunt, which she transmitted to me here. If any thing, my dear boy, could have happened to raise you higher in my esteem, and to endear you more to me, it is the amiable abhorrence you feel for the scene of vice and folly (and of real misery and perdition, under the false notion of pleasure and spirit), which has opened to you at your college, and at the same time, the manly, brave, generous, and wise resolution and true spirit, with which you resisted and repulsed the first attempts upon a mind and heart, I thank God, infinitely too firm

and noble, as well as too elegant and enlightened, to be in any danger of yielding to such contemptible and wretched corruptions.

You charm me with the description of Mr. Wheeler⁽¹⁾, and while you say you could adore him, I could adore you for the natural genuine love of virtue, which speaks in all you feel, say, or do. As to your companions, let this be your rule : — Cultivate the acquaintance with Mr. Wheeler which you have so fortunately begun, and, in general, be sure to associate with men much older than yourself ; scholars whenever you can, but always with men of decent and honourable lives. As their age and learning, superior both to your own, must necessarily, in good sense, and in the view of acquiring knowledge from them, entitle them to all deference, and submission of your own lights to theirs, you will particularly practise that first and greatest rule for pleasing in conversation, as well as for drawing instruction and improvement from the company of one's superiors in age and knowledge, namely, to be a patient, attentive, and well-bred hearer, and to answer with modesty ; to deliver your own opinions sparingly, and with proper diffidence ; and if you are forced to desire farther information or explanation upon a point, to

(1) “ The Rev. John Wheeler, prebendary of Westminster. The friendship formed between this gentleman and Lord Camelford at so early a period of their lives was founded in mutual esteem, and continued uninterrupted till Lord Camelford's death.” — *Lord Grenville*.

do it with proper apologies for the trouble you give ; or if obliged to differ, to do it with all possible candour, and an unprejudiced desire to find and ascertain truth, with an entire indifference to the side on which that truth is to be found.

There is likewise a particular attention required to contradict with good manners ; such as, begging pardon, begging leave to doubt, and such like phrases. Pythagoras enjoined his scholars an absolute silence for a long noviciate. I am far from approving such a taciturnity ; but I highly recommend the end and intent of Pythagoras's injunction, which is, to dedicate the first parts of life more to hear and learn, in order to collect materials, out of which to form opinions founded on proper lights and well-examined sound principles, than to be presuming, prompt, and flippant in hazarding one's own slight crude notions of things, and thereby exposing the nakedness and emptiness of the mind — like a house opened to company, before it is fitted either with necessities, or any ornaments for their reception and entertainment.

And not only will this disgrace follow from such temerity and presumption, but a more serious danger is sure to ensue, that is, the embracing errors for truths, prejudices for principles ; and when that is once done (no matter how vainly and weakly), the adhering perhaps to false and dangerous notions, only because one has declared for them, and submitting, for life, the understanding and conscience to a yoke of base and servile

prejudices, vainly taken up and obstinately retained. This will never be your danger ; but I thought it not amiss to offer these reflections to your thoughts.

As to your manner of behaving towards those unhappy young gentlemen you describe, let it be manly and easy : decline their parties with civility ; retort their raillery with raillery, always tempered with good breeding : if they banter your regularity, order, decency, and love of study, banter in return their neglect of them, and venture to own frankly, that you came to Cambridge to learn what you can, not to follow what they are pleased to call pleasure. In short, let your external behaviour to them be as full of politeness and ease, as your inward estimation of them is full of pity, mixed with contempt.

I come now to the part of the advice I have to offer to you, which most nearly concerns your welfare, and upon which every good and honourable purpose of your life will assuredly turn ; I mean the keeping up in your heart the true sentiments of religion. ⁽¹⁾ If you are not right towards God,

⁽¹⁾ " We recommend," say the Edinburgh Reviewers, " these admirable passages to all those light and thoughtless persons, who are pleased to regard every sentiment, of a moral or religious tendency, as the growth of monkish seclusion and ignorance of the world, or as the offspring of a sullen bigotry and weakness of understanding ; only premising that they are the earnest, undisguised effusions of an unrivalled statesman and orator, poured forth at the very moment in which his whole mind was distracted by the weight of affairs, and the intrigues

you can never be so towards man : the noblest sentiment of the human breast is here brought to the test. Is gratitude in the number of a man's virtues? if it be, the highest benefactor demands the warmest returns of gratitude, love, and praise. "*Ingratum qui dixerit, omnia dixit.*" If a man wants this virtue where there are infinite obligations to excite and quicken it, he will be likely to want all others towards his fellow-creatures, whose utmost gifts are poor compared to those he daily receives at the hands of his never-failing Almighty Friend. "Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth," is big with the deepest wisdom : "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom ; and, an upright heart, that is understanding." This is externally true, whether the wits and rakes of Cambridge allow it or not : nay, I must add of

of a factious court. But, in every line of these interesting relics, we discover features of a mind as lovely, as we know that it was powerful and accomplished. We discover unerring proofs that Lord Chatham was as amiable in the private relations of life, as the annals of the old and new world proclaim him to have been transcendantly great in the management of affairs. We are constantly delighted with traits of an union, extremely rare in the human character, of the stronger passions and grandest powers of the mind with its finer feelings and nicer principles. We meet with perpetual evidence, that neither the intrigues of courts, nor the contentions of popular assemblies, had ever effaced from this great man's heart those early impressions of virtue and of piety, with which almost all are provided at their outset, but which so few are enabled to preserve even from the dangers and seductions of an obscurer fortune." — Vol. iv. p. 378.

this religious wisdom, “ Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace,” whatever your young gentlemen of pleasure think of a whore and a bottle, a tainted health and battered constitution.

Hold fast, therefore, by this sheet-anchor of happiness, religion : you will often want it in the times of most danger ; the storms and tempests of life. Cherish true religion as precious as you will fly with abhorrence and contempt superstition and enthusiasm. The first is the perfection and glory of the human nature ; the two last the deprivation and disgrace of it. Remember, the essence of religion is, a heart void of offence towards God and man ; not subtle speculative opinions, but an active vital principle of faith. The words of a heathen were so fine that I must give them to you : —

“ *Compositum Jus, fasque animi ; sanctosque recessus
Mentis, et incoctum generoso pectus honesto.*” (1)

Go on, my dear child, in the admirable dispositions you have towards all that is right and good,

(1) Persius, Sat I., thus translated by Dryden : —

“ A soul, where laws both human and divine,
In practice more than speculation shine ;
A genuine virtue, of a vigorous kind,
Pure in the last recesses of the mind.”

And again, by Gifford : —

————— “ A mind,
Where legal and where moral sense are join’d

and make yourself the love and admiration of the world!

I have neither paper nor words to tell you how tenderly

I am, my dear Nephew, yours,

W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS PITT, ESQ.

Bath, January 24, 1754.

I WILL not lose a moment before I return my most tender and warm thanks to the most amiable, valuable, and noble-minded of youths, for the infinite pleasure his letter gives me.

My dear nephew, what a beautiful thing is genuine goodness, and how lovely does the human mind appear in its native purity (in a nature as happy as yours), before the taints of a corrupted world have touched it! To guard you from the

With the pure essence ; holy thoughts, that dwell
In the soul's most retired and sacred cell ;
A bosom dyed in honour's noblest grain,
Deep-dyed." —

"Persius," adds Mr. Gifford, "may be more easily admired than translated. These two lines are not only the quintessence of sanctity, but of language. Closeness would cramp, paraphrase would enfeeble their sense ; which, like Juvenal's abstract idea of a perfect poet, may be felt but cannot be expressed. None of the versions of them which I have seen satisfy me ; and, least of all, my own."

fatal effects of all the dangers that surround and beset youth (and many they are, *nam variæ illudunt pestes*), I thank God, is become my pleasing and very important charge ; your own choice, and our nearness in blood, and still more, a dearer and nearer relation of hearts, which I feel between us, all concur to make it so. I shall seek, then, every occasion, my dear young friend, of being useful to you, by offering you those lights, which one must have lived some years in the world to see the full force and extent of, and which the best mind and clearest understanding will suggest imperfectly in any case, and in the most difficult, delicate, and essential points perhaps not at all, till experience, that dear-bought instructor, comes to our assistance.

What I shall, therefore, make my task (a happy, delightful task, if I prove a safeguard to so much opening virtue), is to be for some years, what you cannot be to yourself, your experience ; experience anticipated, and ready digested for your use. Thus we will endeavour, my dear child, to join the two best seasons of life, to establish your virtue and your happiness upon solid foundations: *Miscens autumni et veris honores.*

So much in general. I will now, my dear nephew, say a few things to you upon a matter where you have surprisingly little to learn, considering you have seen nothing but Boconnock ; I mean behaviour. Behaviour is of infinite advantage or prejudice to a man, as he happens to have formed

it to a graceful, noble, engaging, and proper manner, or to a vulgar, coarse, ill-bred, or awkward and ungenteel one. Behaviour, though an external thing, which seems rather to belong to the body than to the mind, is certainly founded in considerable virtues; though I have known instances of good men, with something very revolting and offensive in their manner of behaviour, especially when they have the misfortune to be naturally very awkward and ungenteel, and which their mistaken friends have helped to confirm them in, by telling them they were above such trifles as being genteel, dancing, fencing, riding, and doing all manly exercises, with grace and vigour: as if the body, because inferior, were not a part of the composition of man; and the proper, easy, ready, and graceful use of himself, both in mind and limb, did not go to make up the character of an accomplished man. You are in no danger of falling into this preposterous error; and I had a great pleasure in finding you, when I first saw you in London, so well disposed by nature, and so properly attentive to make yourself genteel in person, and well-bred in behaviour.

I am very glad you have taken a fencing-master: that exercise will give you some manly, firm, and graceful attitudes, open your chest, place your head upright, and plant you well upon your legs. As to the use of the sword, it is well to know it; but remember, my dearest nephew, it is a science of defence, and that a sword can never be employed

by the hand of a man of virtue in any other cause. As to the carriage of your person, be particularly careful, as you are tall and thin, not to get a habit of stooping ; nothing has so poor a look. Above all things, avoid contracting any peculiar gesticulations of the body, or movements of the muscles of the face. It is rare to see in any one a graceful laughter ; it is generally better to smile than laugh out, especially to contract a habit of laughing at small or no jokes. Sometimes it would be affectation, or worse, mere moroseness, not to laugh heartily, when the truly ridiculous circumstances of an incident, or the true pleasantry and wit of a thing call for and justify it ; but the trick of laughing frivolously is by all means to be avoided — *risu inepto, res ineptior nulla est.*

Now as to politeness ; many have attempted definitions of it. I believe it is best to be known by description ; definition not being able to comprise it. I would, however, venture to call it *benevolence in trifles*, or the preference of others to ourselves in little daily, hourly, occurrences in the commerce of life. A better place, a more commodious seat, priority in being helped at table, &c. what is it, but sacrificing ourselves in such trifles to the convenience and pleasure of others ? And this constitutes true politeness. It is a perpetual attention (by habit it grows easy and natural to us) to the little wants of those we are with, by which we either prevent or remove them. Bowing, ceremonious, formal compliments, stiff civilities,

will never be politeness ; that must be easy, natural, unstudied, manly, noble. And what will give this, but a mind benevolent, and perpetually attentive to exert that amiable disposition in trifles towards all you converse and live with. Benevolence in greater matters takes a higher name, and is the queen of virtues. Nothing is so incompatible with politeness as any trick of absence of mind. ⁽¹⁾

I would trouble you with a word or two more upon some branches of behaviour, which have a more serious moral obligation in them than those of mere politeness, which are equally important in the eye of the world. I mean a proper behaviour, adapted to the respective relations we stand in, towards the different ranks of superiors, equals, and inferiors. Let your behaviour towards superiors, in dignity, age, learning, or any distinguished excellence, be full of respect, deference, and modesty : towards equals, nothing becomes a man so well as well-bred ease, polite freedom, generous frankness, manly spirit, always tempered with gentleness and sweetness of manner, noble sincerity, candour, and openness of heart, qualified and restrained within the bounds of discretion and prudence, and ever limited by a sacred regard to secrecy in all things intrusted to it, and an inviolable attachment to your word.

⁽¹⁾ "We challenge the admirers of Lord Chesterfield to produce a more winning, and at the same time a more judicious and ingenious defence of all that part of manners which is worthy of a reasonable being's regard, in the whole writings of their master." — *Edinburgh Rev.* vol. iv. p. 384.

To inferiors, gentleness, condescension, and affability, is the only dignity. Towards servants, never accustom yourself to rough and passionate language. When they are good, we should consider them as *humiles amici*, as fellow Christians, *ut conservi*; and when they are bad, pity, admonish, and part with them if incorrigible. On all occasions beware, my dear child, of anger, that demon, that destroyer of our peace :—

“Ira furor brevis est, animum rege, qui nisi paret,
Imperat : hunc frenis, hunc tu compesce catenâ.”⁽¹⁾

Write soon, and tell me of your studies.

W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS PITT, ESQ.

Bath, February 3, 1754.

NOTHING can, or ought to give me a higher satisfaction, than the obliging manner in which my dear nephew receives my most sincere and affectionate endeavours to be of use to him. You much overrate the obligation, whatever it be, which youth has to those who have trod the paths of the world before them, for their friendly advice how to avoid the inconveniences, dangers, and evils, which they themselves may have run upon for want of such

(1) “Anger’s a shorter madness of the mind :
Subdue the tyrant, and in fetters bind.”

Francis’s Horace.

timely warnings, and to seize, cultivate, and carry forward towards perfection, those advantages, graces, virtues, and felicities, which they may have totally missed, or stopped short in the generous pursuit. To lend this helping hand to those who are beginning to tread the slippery way seems, at best, but an office of common humanity to all; but to withhold it from one we truly love, and whose heart and mind bear every genuine mark of the very soil proper for all the amiable, manly, and generous virtues to take root, and bear their heavenly fruit — inward, conscious peace, fame amongst men, public love, temporal and eternal happiness — to withhold it, I say, in such an instance, would deserve the worst of names.

I am greatly pleased, my dear young friend, that you do me the justice to believe I do not mean to impose any yoke of authority upon your understanding and conviction. I wish to warn, admonish, instruct, enlighten, and convince your reason, and so determine your judgment to right things, when you shall be made to see that they are right; not to overbear, and impel you to adopt any thing before you perceive it to be right or wrong, by the force of authority.

I hear with great pleasure that Locke lay before you, when you writ last to me; and I like the observation that you make from him, that we must use our own reason not that of another, if we would deal fairly by ourselves, and hope to enjoy a peaceful and contented conscience. This pre-

cept is truly worthy of the dignity of rational natures.

But here, my dear child, let me offer one distinction to you, and it is of much moment ; it is this — Mr. Locke's precept is applicable only to such opinions as regard moral or religious obligations, and which, as such, our own consciences alone can judge and determine for ourselves : matters of mere expediency, that affect neither honour, morality, or religion, were not in that great and wise man's view ; such are the usages, forms, manners, modes, proprieties, decorum, and all those numberless ornamental little acquirements, and genteel well-bred attentions, which constitute a proper, graceful, amiable, and noble behaviour. In matters of this kind, I am sure your own reason, to which I shall always refer you, will at once tell you, that you must, at first, make use of the experience of others ; in effect, see with their eyes, or not be able to see at all ; for the ways of the world, as to its usages and exterior manners, as well as to all things of expediency and prudential considerations, a moment's reflection will convince a mind as right as yours, must necessarily be to inexperienced youth, with ever so fine natural parts, a *terra incognita*. As you would not therefore attempt to form notions of China or Persia but from those who have travelled those countries, and the fidelity and sagacity of whose relations you can trust, so will you as little, I trust, prematurely form notions of your own, concerning that usage of the world (as it is called) into which

you have not yet travelled, and which must be long studied and practised, before it can be tolerably well known.

I can repeat nothing to you of so infinite consequence to your future welfare, as to conjure you not to be hasty in taking up notions and opinions: guard your honest and ingenuous mind against this main danger of youth. With regard to all things that appear not to your reason, after due examination, evident duties of honour, morality, or religion, (and in all such as do, let your conscience and reason determine your notions and conduct)—in all other matters, I say, be slow to form opinions, keep your mind in a candid state of suspense, and open to full conviction when you shall procure it, using in the mean time the experience of a friend you can trust, the sincerity of whose advice you will try and prove by your own experience hereafter, when more years shall have given it to you.

I have been longer upon this head than I hope there was any occasion for; but the great importance of the matter, and my warm wishes for your welfare, figure, and happiness, have drawn it from me. I wish to know if you have a good French master. I must recommend the study of the French language, to speak and write it correctly, as to grammar and orthography, as a matter of the utmost and indispensable use to you, if you would make any figure in the great world. I need say no more to enforce this recommendation; when I get to London, I will send you the best French

dictionary. Have you been taught geography and the use of the globes by Mr. Leech? If not, pray take a geography master, and learn the use of the globes; it is soon known. I recommend to you to acquire a clear and thorough notion of what is called the solar system, together with the doctrine of comets. I wanted as much or more to hear of your private reading at home, as of public lectures; which I hope, however, you will frequent for example sake.

Pardon this long letter, and keep it by you, if you do not hate it. Believe me, my dear Nephew,

Your ever affectionate uncle,

W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE. ⁽¹⁾

[From a draught in Mr. Pitt's hand-writing.]

Bath, March —, 1754.

MY LORD DUKE,

I AM extremely sorry that I continue still so weak in my feet, though much mended in my general

⁽¹⁾ On the 6th of March, the ministry had been suddenly left without a head by the death of Mr. Pelham. Having relinquished the seals of secretary of state, to accept the management of the treasury, the Duke of Newcastle proceeded to select his immediate colleagues. His choice for a chancellor of the exchequer was directed to Mr. Legge, from a conviction,

health, as not to be able to attend your Grace ; an honour I particularly ought to do myself at this time, to receive your Grace's commands, with regard to the ensuing election. If the very great honour you intended me be still in your thoughts, and that such a very useless though unalterable humble servant to your Grace as I must be, is destined to be chosen at Aldborough⁽¹⁾, I should beg the favour

that in him he should find a dependent, neither ambitious in himself, nor likely, by influence or abilities, to aspire to a higher share of power. Mr. Legge, however, being ill-calculated to act as leader in the House of Commons, no other resource remained than to consign the seals of secretary of state to a member of that body, who, by his abilities or influence, might manage the house under his Grace's directions. Three persons were more particularly adapted for this post, by their oratorical talents and personal qualifications, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Murray, Solicitor General. The Duke of Newcastle was aware that the royal dislike against Mr. Pitt had not wholly subsided. Mr. Murray, besides the prejudices entertained against him as a native of Scotland, had been exposed to obloquy, during the feuds in the household of the Prince of Wales. Mr. Fox was indicated by the public voice as the person best calculated to fill so important a situation. An overture was accordingly made to him, through Lord Hartington, offering the seals, with the management of the House of Commons ; the arrangement was considered complete ; for, on the 12th of March, the sanction of the king was obtained : but the next morning, when Mr. Fox waited on the Duke of Newcastle, he found that he was not to be acquainted with the disposal of the secret-service money, to share the patronage, or even have a voice in the arrangements of the approaching elections ; and as he was unwilling to assume the character of leader in the House of Commons without the powers necessary to be attached to it, he took the resolution of declining the seals.

(1) At the ensuing general election in April, Mr. Pitt was returned for the borough of Aldborough in Yorkshire.

of your orders, whether it be necessary I should appear there on the occasion, as I cannot immediately undertake such a journey, or indeed any, without extreme difficulty and some hazard to my health. I shall esteem it an addition to this great favour, if I may be allowed to remain a little longer here till I can recover my feet, and where the waters are of infinite service to me.

Sir George Lyttelton⁽¹⁾ had flattered me with the expectation that I might have the honour to receive some commands from your Grace here. I hope your Grace's health continues unaltered, and equal to all the load of various business that now lies upon you. That all your Grace's labours for the King's service may succeed is the very sincere wish of

Your Grace's most obedient

and most humble servant,

W. PITT.

(¹) Sir George Lyttelton was the eldest son of Sir Thomas Lyttelton of Hagley, by Christian, daughter of Sir Richard Temple of Stowe. On the 6th of April he resigned his situation of one of the lords of the treasury, and was made cofferer of the household and a privy councillor; and in December 1755, he was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; an office which he resigned in 1757. On the dissolution of the ministry in that year, he retired from public life, and was elevated to the peerage, by the title of Lord Lyttelton. He died in August 1773, leaving behind him, "Observations on the Conversion of St. Paul," a treatise to which, in the opinion of Dr. Johnson, "infidelity has never been able to fabricate a specious answer," "Dialogues of the Dead," the "History of Henry the Second," and a volume of Poems.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS PITT, ESQ.

Bath, March 30, 1754.

MY DEAR NEPHEW,

I AM much obliged to you for your kind remembrance and wishes for my health. It is much recovered by the regular fit of gout, of which I am still lame in both feet, and I may hope for better health hereafter in consequence. I have thought it long since we conversed. I waited to be able to give you a better account of my health, and in part to leave you time to make advances in your plan of study, of which I am very desirous to hear an account. I desire you will be so good as to let me know particularly if you have gone through the abridgment of Burnet's History of the Reformation and the treatise of Father Paul on Benefices; also how much of Locke you have read. I beg of you not to mix any other English reading with what I recommended to you. I propose to save you much time and trouble, by pointing out to you such books, in succession, as will carry you the shortest way to the things you must know to fit yourself for the business of the world, and give you the clearer knowledge of them, by keeping them unmixed with superfluous, vain, empty trash.

Let me hear, my dear child, of your French also; as well as of those studies which are more properly university studies. I cannot tell you

better how truly and tenderly I love you, than by telling you I am most solicitously bent on your doing every thing that is right, and laying the foundations of your future happiness and figure in the world, in such a course of improvement, as will not fail to make you a better man, while it makes you a more knowing one. Do you rise early? I hope you have already made to yourself the habit of doing it; if not, let me conjure you to acquire it. Remember your friend Horace:

“ Et ni
 Posces ante diem librum cum lumine ; si non
 Intendes animum studiis, et rebus honestis,
 Invidiâ vel amore vigil torquere.” (1)

Adieu.

Your ever affectionate uncle,

W. PITT.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO MR. PITT.

Powis House, April 2, 1754.(2)

SIR,

AFTER having read your letter to Sir George Lyttelton, which he was pleased to show me, I take shame to myself for having omitted so long

(1) “ Unless you light your early lamp, to find
 A moral book ; unless you form your mind
 To nobler studies, you shall forfeit rest,
 And love or envy shall distract your breast.”

Francis's Horace.

(2) The lord chancellor was this day created Earl of

to do myself the honour of writing to you. But I must own (besides the pain of leaning down to write during the violence of my cough), another kind of shame has, in part, restrained me from it; for I blush even when I refer to that letter. I am penetrated with the goodness which it breathes for me; but that goodness carried you to say some things which, as I am sensible I neither do, nor ever can deserve, I dare not take to myself. Besides this, I have lived in such continual hurry, ever since the day of our great misfortune, Mr. Pelham's death, —

“ Ille dies, quem semper acerbum,
Semper honoratum (sic Dii voluistis), habebo,” — (1)

that I have had no time for correspondence.

The general confusion called upon somebody to step forth; and the Duke of Newcastle's overwhelming affliction and necessary confinement, threw it upon me. I was a kind of minister, *ab aratro*, I mean the chancery-plough, and am not displeased to be returned to it, laborious as it is to hold. I never saw the King under such deep concern since the Queen's death. His Majesty

Hardwicke and Viscount Royston, of Gloucestershire. He had held the seals from 1736, and continued to do so till 1756, when he resigned. He died in 1764.

(1) “And now the rising day renews the year;
A day for ever sad, for ever dear.”

Dryden's Virgil, Æn. l. v.

seemed to be unresolved; professed to have no favourite for the important employment vacant; and declared that he would be advised by his cabinet council, with the Duke of Devonshire ⁽¹⁾ added to them; and yet I could plainly discern a latent prepossession in favour of a certain person, who, within a few hours after Mr. Pelham's death, had made strong advances to the Duke of Newcastle and myself. ⁽²⁾ I gained no further ground for four days, and remained in a state of the utmost anxiety, as well for the King's dignity, as for the event.

To poll in a cabinet council for his first minister, which should only be decided in his closet, I could by no means digest; and yet I saw danger in attempting to drive it to a *personal* determination. My great objects were to support the system of which Mr. Pelham had been, in a great measure, at the head; by that means to preserve and ce-

(¹) William, third Duke of Devonshire. His Grace filled the office of lord lieutenant of Ireland from 1737 to 1744, and that of lord steward of the household from that year till June 1749; when "disgusted," says Coxe, "with the feuds in the cabinet, and perplexed with the jealous disposition of Newcastle, and the desponding spirit of Mr. Pelham, he resigned his office, and withdrew to a dignified retirement at Chatsworth, prepared, on all occasions of importance, to give his support to government. He died in December, 1755.

(²) "Mr. Pelham died about six o'clock on Wednesday, the 6th. Mr. Fox was at the Marquis of Hartington's before eight that morning. Negotiations begun. The Duke of Devonshire was sent for the same day." — *Dodington's Diary*, p. 238.

ment the Whig party, and to secure the election of a new parliament upon the plan he had left, though unfinished; which I inculcated to be the *immediate* fundamental object. This I stuck close to, as I saw it carried the greatest force; and I took advantage of the King's earnestness for a good House of Commons, to show him the necessity of fortifying his interest there, not only by numbers, but by weight and abilities.

Under this head, it might have the appearance of something which I would avoid being suspected of, if I told you all I said of particular persons. I was not wanting to do justice to true merit, nor backward to show him how real strength might be acquired. Some way I made, though not all I wished; and I drew out intimations that, upon this occasion, openings would be made in very considerable employments, in which some of those I named should be regarded. I sincerely and without affectation wish that it had been possible for you to have heard all that I presumed to say on this subject. I know you are so reasonable, and have so much consideration for your friends (amongst whom I am ambitious to be numbered), that you would have been convinced *some impression* was made, and that, in the circumstances then existing, it could not have been pushed farther without the utmost hazard.

It would be superfluous and vain in me to say to you, what you know so much better than I, that there are certain things which ministers cannot do

directly ; and that in political arrangements, prudence often dictates to submit to the *minus malum*, and to leave it to time and incidents, and perhaps to ill-judging opponents, to help forward the rest. Permit me to think that has remarkably happened, even in the case before us. An ill-judged demand of extraordinary powers, beyond what were at last in the royal view, has, in my opinion, helped to mend the first plan, and to leave a greater facility to make use of opportunities still to improve it. This situation, with the Duke of Newcastle (whose friendship and attachment to you are undoubted and avowed) placed at the head of the treasury, and in the first rank of power, affords a much more promising prospect, than the most sanguine dared hope when the fatal blow was first given.

It gave me much concern to find by your letter to the Duke of Newcastle, which his Grace did me the honour to communicate to me in confidence, that you are under apprehensions of *some neglect on this decisive occasion*. At some part of what you say I do not at all wonder. I sincerely feel too much for you, not to have the strongest sensibility of it ; but I give you my honour, there was no *neglect*. I exerted my utmost, in concurrence with, and under the instructions of, the Duke of Newcastle ; whose zeal in this point is equal to your warmest wishes. That an *impression* was made to a certain degree, I think appears in the instances of some of your best friends, Sir George Lyttelton, and Mr. George Grenville ;

upon whom you generously and justly lay great weight. I agree that this falls short of the mark; but it gives encouragement. It is more than *a colour for acquiescence* in the eyes of the world; it is a demonstration of fact. No ground arises from hence to think of *retirement, rather than for courts and business*. We have all of us our hours wherein we wish for those *otia tuta*; and I have mine frequently: but I have that opinion of your wisdom, of your concern for the public, of your regard and affection for your friends, that I will not suffer myself to doubt but you will continue to take an active part. There never was a fairer field in the House of Commons for such abilities, and I flatter myself that the exertion of them will complete what is now left imperfect.

I need only add to this my best wishes for the entire re-establishment of your health. Those wishes are as cordial as the assurances which, with the utmost sincerity and respect, I now give you, that I am always, Sir,

Your most obedient,

most faithful, and

most humble servant,

HARDWICKE.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Newcastle House, April 2, 1754.

DEAR SIR,

THE great load of business, which at present I am forced to go through as well as I can, must be my excuse for not having sooner returned you my thanks for the honour of your letter of the 24th of March. ⁽¹⁾ It adds much to my painful situation, to see the uneasiness that you are under, which I own I have long lamented for the sake of the public and your friends; but it comes more home to me, and affects me in the most sensible manner, whenever I perceive the least indication, that any part of it could, in your opinion, have been removed or alleviated by any thing that has depended upon me. Whenever I have the honour of one quarter of an hour's conversation with you, I am certain I shall convince you of the contrary, and that, in the late arrangements, I have had all the regard and attention to your connexions, which it was possible for me to show; and that if I had attempted more, I should have exposed my own weakness, mortified those whom I meant to serve, prevented even what I have been able to obtain, acted the part which those who wish us ill had laid for me, given them great cause of triumph over us, and perhaps have flung every thing into their hands.

(1) It is to be regretted that no draught of Mr. Pitt's letter here referred to has been preserved.

These facts cannot be explained by letter. May I, therefore, beg your patience, and a suspension of your judgment till I have the honour to see you. I honour, esteem, and, if you will allow me to say so, most sincerely love you ; and upon this principle I think I have acted. I am sure my intention was to do so. Feel the melancholy and distressed situation that I was in—forced by the commands of the King and the entreaties of my friends, to part with an employment which I loved, was in some degree master of, and where I had gained some little reputation, to go to one where I was entirely unacquainted, exposed to envy and reproach, without being sure of any thing but the comfort of an honest heart, and a serious design to do my best for the service of the King, my country, and my friends.

A plan was at first made, with a view to make my going to the head of the treasury the more palatable to those who might be supposed to be the least pleased with it. That, for certain reasons, did not take place ; upon which, the King himself, from his own motion, declared Sir Thomas Robinson⁽¹⁾ secretary of state. Those, who are honoured with

(1) In 1745, Sir Thomas Robinson was appointed minister plenipotentiary at the court of Vienna ; in 1748, joint plenipotentiary with Lord Sandwich, at the congress at Aix-la-Chapelle ; in 1749, one of the lords-commissioners of trade and plantations ; in 1750, master of the great wardrobe, and one of his Majesty's privy-council. In 1761, he was created Lord Grantham, and in 1765 appointed one of the post-masters general. He died in 1770.

your friendship, thought that the most favourable measure that could be obtained. An honourable and able man, extremely well qualified in every respect for the execution of that office, sincerely attached to our system, and who, without departing from that rank and figure which belonged to his office, had not those parliamentary talents which could give jealousy, or in that light set him above the rest of the King's servants there; so that their situation did not receive the least alteration from his promotion; and since, from circumstances (which you know I have long lamented) it was impossible to put one into that office, who had all the necessary qualifications both within and out of the House, nothing sure could show so great a desire to soften or alleviate that misfortune, as the giving into a nomination of Sir Thomas Robinson, under the description above mentioned.

The choice of Mr. Legge was made with a view to please all our friends. We knew he was well with the old corps, we knew he was happy in your friendship, and in your good opinion and that of your connection; and you must allow me to say, that I could never have thought one moment of removing you, in the high light in which you so justly stand, from the office you now possess⁽¹⁾, to be chancellor of the exchequer, with another person at the head of the treasury.

These dispositions being thus made, it was my

(1) Paymaster-general of the forces.

first view to show you that regard, in the person of your friends, which it was impossible to do in your own, to the degree which you might reasonably expect. The two first vacant offices—that of treasurer of the navy and cofferer—were by my recommendation given to your two first friends, Mr. Grenville and Sir George Lyttelton; two employments as agreeable to them both, as I believe could be found out; and the rest of the vacancies plainly filled with a view to the House of Commons, and the providing for the most efficient men there.

I have now very truly stated to you the state of the late promotions, and the reasons upon which they were made. Had it been possible for me to have surmounted those difficulties which you hint at, I may venture to assure you, that your situation would be very different from what it is, and no one complaint should have remained, that I could have removed. I am happy, in some measure, to have had the same considerations with yourself, and to have acted with success in consequence of it: viz. that the best alleviation that could be to you, would be the placing your friends in honourable and agreeable employments; and I happen to have pitched upon those mentioned in your letter.

I sincerely thank you for the cordiality and freedom with which you write. I have endeavoured to do the same; and as I stand more in need of your friendship now than ever, I flatter myself I shall have it. I will do every thing in my power to

deserve the continuance of it. When his Majesty laid his commands upon me to take this new office, he did it with all the marks of goodness and confidence imaginable; and though some things were not to be attempted, I think by the late dispositions it appears that his Majesty will support his service and his servants. I hope some prejudices which I have long lamented will be got over, when the King sees and feels the good effects of his having got them over to a certain degree. Nothing shall be wanting on my part that can contribute towards it. My Lord Chancellor, with whom I do every thing, and without whom I do nothing, has had a most material hand in all these arrangements. He sees and knows the truth of what I write, and he judges as I do, that no other method but this could have been followed with any prospect of success.

I rejoice to hear that your health is so well re-established. I hope we shall soon have the honour and pleasure to see you in town. I dare say we shall then be able to represent things in a more favourable light than they appear to you at present. I don't wonder that you feel: I feel for you; but allow me to say (because I think it), that even with regard to yourself, the dispositions are not so mortifying as they might have been, and with regard to your friends, more favourable than perhaps was to be expected. That I am sure I rejoice at. The other I shall do my utmost to alleviate, by endeavouring to procure an alteration of manner and behaviour.

I am afraid I have wrote too freely. My love and

affection for you are my only excuses. When once I begin to write to a friend like you, I write all I think upon the subject. And am

Most unalterably yours,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

MR. PITT TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

[From a draught in Mr. Pitt's handwriting.]

Bath, April 5, 1754.

MY LORD DUKE,

I RECEIVED the honour of your Grace's letter of the 2d instant yesterday evening, and I take this opportunity of the post, to return you my sincerest, humblest thanks, for the great condescension and very kind manner in which it is written. I should make a very ill return to your Grace's goodness, if I were to go far back into the disagreeable subject that has occasioned you the trouble of writing a long and very obliging letter. Amidst all your business, I should be ashamed to tease your Grace's good nature with much repetition of an uneasy subject, and necessarily so stuffed with impertinent egotisms. Whatever my sensations are and must be of my situation, it is sufficient that I have once openly exposed them to your view, as I thought I owed it to your Grace and to myself to do.

As to the chancellor of the exchequer, I hope

your Grace does not think me filled with so impertinent a vanity, as to imagine it any disparagement to myself to serve under your Grace, as the head of the treasury. But, my lord, had I been proposed for that honour, and the King reconciled to the thought of me, my honour would have been saved, and I should have declined it with pleasure in favour of Mr. Legge, from considerations of true regard for his Majesty's service. My health at the best is too unsettled to expose his Majesty's business in Parliament to depend upon so precarious a thing, and to stop short perhaps in the middle of a session. The case is not the same as to the other office; though very high and important, from many circumstances, uninterrupted health is not so essentially necessary; and were I to fail in it from want of health, or what is still more likely, from want of abilities and proper knowledge of foreign affairs, a fitter person might be substituted at all times, without inconvenience to the King's business.

I promised your Grace not to enter again far into a disagreeable subject; but though your Grace has very obligingly suggested, as a consolation to me, that I might have been more mortified under another arrangement than I am under the present, I will own very freely I should have thought myself much less mortified as to my own person, if Mr. Fox had been put at the head of the House of Commons by the King's favour, than I

am at present. I should in that case have been mortified for your Grace and for my Lord Chancellor ; very little for myself. Had Mr. Murray's situation been such, that he might have been placed at the head of the House of Commons, I should have served with pleasure under him, as I acknowledge his superiority in every respect. My mortification at present arises not from a silly pride, but from being manifestly excluded in an arrangement, by a negative personal to me — the effect of displeasure not removable.

As for the rest, be assured my attachment to government shall ever be found as unalterable, as my inability to be of service to it is become manifest to all the world. The suffrage of the party in one instance, and a higher nomination in another, operating to the eternal exclusion of a man, can leave him (under a resolution not to disturb government) no wish but that of retreat : — not a retreat of resentment, but of respect and of despair of being ever accepted to equal terms with others, be his poor endeavours what they may. Very few have been the advantages and honours of my life ; but among the first of them, I shall ever esteem the honour of your Grace's favourable opinion. You have tried me, and have not found me deceive you : to this your Grace's favourable opinion and to your protection I recommend myself, and hope that some retreat neither dishonourable nor disagreeable may (when it is practicable) be opened to me.

I am, with the most constant attachment, your
Grace's devoted, and

most faithful humble servant,

W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO THE EARL OF HARDWICKE.

[From a draught in Mr. Pitt's handwriting.]

Bath, April 6, 1754.

MY LORD,

No man ever felt an honour more deeply, than I do that of your Lordship's letter. Your great goodness in taking the trouble to write, amidst your perpetual and important business, and the very condescending and infinitely obliging terms, in which your Lordship is pleased to express yourself, could not fail to make impressions of the most sensible kind. I am not only unable to find words to convey my gratitude; but I am much more distressed to find any means of deserving the smallest part of your Lordship's very kind attention and indulgence to a sensibility carried, perhaps, beyond what the cause will justify, in the eye of superior and true wisdom. I venerate so sincerely that judgment, that I shall have the additional unhappiness of standing self-condemned, if my reasons already laid before your Lordship continue to appear insufficient to determine me to inaction.

I cannot without much shame so abuse your Lordship's indulgence, as to go back, but for a moment, into an unworthy subject that has already caused you too much trouble, and which must unavoidably be filled with abundance of indecent egotism. But permit me to assure your Lordship, in the first place, that, far from having a doubt remaining on my mind, that more might have been done in my favour *on this occasion*, I think myself greatly indebted to your Lordship's goodness, and will ever gratefully acknowledge the kind efforts you were pleased to make, to remove impressions that have entered so deep; but I hope your Lordship will not think me unreasonable, if I conclude, from the inefficacy of these efforts in such a want of subjects to carry on the King's business in Parliament, and under his Majesty's strong sense of that want, that these impressions are immoveable.

Your Lordship is pleased kindly to say, that some way is made, and that some future occasion may be more favourable for me. I am not able to conceive any such occasion possible. God forbid, the wants of his Majesty's government should ever become more urgent! Such an unhappy distress can only arise from an event so fatal to this country, and which must deprive me of one of the two great protectors whose friendship constitutes the only honour of my public life, that I will not carry my views or reasonings forward to that melancholy day. I might likewise add (I conceive not unreasonably),

that every acquiescence to his Majesty's negative (necessary as I am convinced it was to acquiesce) must confirm and render more insurmountable the resolution taken for my perpetual exclusion.

This, I confess, continues to be strongly my view of my situation. It is very kind and generous in your Lordship to suggest a ray of distant, general hope to a man you see despairing, and to turn his view forward from the present scene to a future. But, my lord, after having set out under suggestions of this general hope ten years ago, and bearing long a load of obloquy for supporting the King's measures, and never obtaining in recompense the smallest remission of that displeasure I vainly laboured to soften, all ardour for public business is really extinguished in my mind, and I am totally deprived of all consideration by which alone I could have been of any use. The weight of irremovable royal displeasure is a load too great to move under: it must crush any man; it has sunk and broke me. I succumb; and wish for nothing but a decent and innocent retreat, wherein I may no longer, by continuing in the public stream of promotion, for ever stick fast aground, and afford to the world the ridiculous spectacle of being passed by every boat that navigates the same river. To speak without a figure, I will presume upon your Lordship's great goodness to me, to tell my utmost wish:—it is, that a retreat, not void of advantage, or derogatory to the rank of the office I hold, might, as soon as prac-

licable, be opened to me. In this view, I take the liberty to recommend myself to your Lordship's friendship, as I have done to the Duke of Newcastle's. Out of his Grace's immediate province accommodations of this kind arise, and to your joint protection, and to that only, I wish to owe the future satisfaction of my life.

I see with the greatest pleasure, the regard that has been had to Sir George Lyttelton and Mr. George Grenville. Every good done to them will be, at all times, as done to me. I am at the same time persuaded that nothing could be more advantageous to the system. Sir George Lyttelton has great abilities for set debates, and solemn questions : Mr. Grenville is universally able in the whole business of the House⁽¹⁾, and, after Mr. Murray and Mr. Fox, is certainly one of the very best parliament men in the House.

(1) It is impossible to read this passage, written in April 1754, without being reminded of Mr. Burke's panegyric on Mr. George Grenville, in his speech on American taxation, in April, 1774: — "Undoubtedly, Mr. Grenville was a first rate figure in this country. With a masculine understanding, and a stout and resolute heart, he had an application undissipated and unwearied. He took public business, not as a duty which he was to fulfil, but as a pleasure he was to enjoy; and he seemed to have no delight out of this House, except in such things as some way related to the business that was to be done within it. If he was ambitious, I will say this for him, his ambition was of a noble and generous strain. It was to raise himself, not by the low, pimping politics of a court, but to win his way to power, through the laborious gradations of public service, and to secure to himself a well-earned rank in parliament, by a

I am now to ask a thousand most humble pardons of your Lordship for the length, and, I fear, still more for the matter, of this letter. If I am not quite unreasonable, your Lordship's equity and candour will acquit me: if I am so unfortunate as to appear otherwise, where it is my ambition not to be thought wrong, I hope your Lordship's generosity and humanity will notwithstanding pardon failings that flow from no ill principle, and that never can shake my unalterable wishes for the quiet and security of government. I rejoice in your Lordship's recovery from your late indisposition, and am, my Lord, &c.

W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS PITT, ESQ.

Bath, May 4, 1754.

DEAR NEPHEW,

I USE a pen with some difficulty, being still lame in my hand with the gout. I cannot, however, delay writing this line to you, on the course of English history I propose for you. If you have finished the abridgment of English History and of Burnet's History of the Reformation, I recommend

thorough knowledge of its constitution, and a perfect practice in all its business."

to you next (before any other reading of history), Oldcastle's Remarks on the History of England, by Lord Bolingbroke. (1) Let me apprise you of one thing before you read them, and that is, that the author has bent some passages to make them

(1) "Of the course of study which these letters recommend, little can be necessary to be said by their editor. He is however anxious that a publication, calculated to produce extensive benefit, should not in any single point mislead even the most superficial reader; nor would he, with all the deference which he owes to the authority of Lord Chatham, willingly appear to concur in the recommendation or censure of any works, on which his own judgment is materially different from that which he is now the instrument of delivering to the world.

"Some early impressions had prepossessed Lord Chatham's mind with a much more favourable opinion of the political writings of Lord Bolingbroke, than he might himself have retained on a more impartial reconsideration. To a reader of the present day, the "Remarks on the History of England" would probably appear but ill entitled to the praises which are in these letters so liberally bestowed upon them. For himself, at least, the editor may be allowed to say, that their style is, in his judgment, declamatory, diffusive, and involved; deficient both in elegance and in precision, and little calculated to satisfy a taste formed, as Lord Chatham's was, on the purest models of classic simplicity. Their matter he thinks more substantially defective: the observations which they contain, display no depth of thought, or extent of knowledge; their reasoning is, for the most part, trite and superficial; while on the accuracy with which the facts themselves are represented no reliance can safely be placed. The principles and character of their author Lord Chatham himself condemns, with just reprobation. And when, in addition to this general censure, he admits, that in these writings the truth of history is occasionally warped, and its application distorted for party purposes, what farther notice can be wanted of the caution with which such a book must always be regarded?" — *Lord Grenville*.

invidious parallels to the times he wrote in : therefore be aware of that, and depend, in general, on finding the truest constitutional doctrines, and that the facts of history, though warped, are no where falsified. I also recommend Nathaniel Bacon's *Historical and Political Observations*(¹) ; it is, without exception, the best and most instructive book we have on matters of that kind. They are both to be read with much attention, and twice over : Oldcastle's *Remarks* to be studied and almost got by heart, for the inimitable beauty of the style, as well as the matter ; Bacon for the matter chiefly ; the style being uncouth, but the expression forcible

(1) "This book, though at present little known, formerly enjoyed a very high reputation. It is written with a very evident bias to the principles of the parliamentary party to which Bacon adhered ; but contains a great deal of very useful and valuable matter. It was published in two parts, the first in 1647, the second in 1651, and was secretly reprinted in 1672, and again in 1682 ; for which edition the publisher was indicted and outlawed. After the Revolution a fourth edition was printed, with an advertisment, asserting, on the authority of Lord Chief Justice Vaughan, one of Selden's executors, that the groundwork of this book was laid by that great and learned man. And it is probably on the ground of this assertion, that in the folio edition of Bacon's book, printed in 1739, it is said in the title-page to have been "collected from some manuscript notes of John Selden, Esq." But it does not appear that this notion rests on any sufficient evidence. It is however manifest from some expressions in the very unjust and disparaging account given of this Work in Nicholson's *Historical Library*, (part. i. p. 150.) that Nathaniel Bacon was generally considered as an imitator and follower of Selden." — *Lord Grenville*.

and striking. I can write no more, and you will hardly read what is writ.

Adieu, my dear child.

Your ever affectionate uncle,

W. PITT.

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY FOX ⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

London, August 20, 1754.

DEAR SIR,

A JUSTICE of the peace in Dorsetshire has taken the liberty to write to the Duke ⁽²⁾ his thoughts concerning the injuries and inconveniences which the out-pensioners, he says, are subjected to by their usurers. I find by the accountant that his scheme is impracticable, so I do not trouble you with it; but his Royal Highness bids me say, that he shall be much obliged to you, if you will resume the thoughts, which he knows from me you have

(1) Henry Fox, second son of Sir Stephen Fox, and brother of Stephen, first Earl of Ilchester, was born in 1705. In 1737, he was appointed surveyor-general of the board of works, and in 1743, a commissioner of the treasury. In 1746, he was appointed secretary at war, and sworn of the privy council. In November 1755, he became secretary of state, which office he resigned to Mr. Pitt, in December, 1756, and was appointed paymaster of the forces, 1757. He was created Baron Holland of Foxley, in 1763, and died in July 1774, in his sixty-ninth year.

(2) The Duke of Cumberland.

had, of contriving some method that may relieve them. I am, with the greatest respect, dear Sir,

Your most obedient

and most humble servant,

H. Fox.

MR. PITT TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY FOX.

August 20, 1754.

DEAR SIR,

I AM honoured with the favour of your letter, concerning the oppression the out-pensioners of Chelsea are under from the usurers. I have had it much at heart to redeem these helpless, unthinking creatures from their harpies, but have never yet seen, nor been able to devise, any practicable and effectual scheme for their relief. Great, however, as the difficulties are, I shall, in obedience to his Royal Highness the Duke's commands, diligently apply myself anew to all possible means of surmounting them, and should esteem myself very happy, if I could have the honour of being the instrument of his Royal Highness's compassionate attention to these very deserving objects.

I am, with the greatest respect,

Sir, &c.

W. PITT. ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ On the very day after the opening of the session in November, Mr. Pitt brought in a bill for the relief of the

MR. PITT TO THOMAS PITT, ESQ.

Astrop Wells, September 5, 1754.

MY DEAR NEPHEW,

I HAVE been a long time without conversing with you, and thanking you for the pleasure of your last letter. You may possibly be about to return to the seat of learning on the banks of the Cam; but I will not defer discoursing to you on literary matters till you leave Cornwall, not doubting but you are mindful of the Muses amidst the very savage rocks and moors, and yet more savage natives, of the ancient and respectable dutchy.

First, with regard to the opinion you desire concerning a common-place book; in general, I much disapprove the use of it: it is chiefly intended for persons who mean to be authors, and tends to impair the memory, and to deprive you of a ready, extempore use of your reading, by accustoming

Chelsea Pensioners. According to the old system, no pensioner could receive any money until he had been on the list for twelve months. This delay of the first payment compelled the veteran to borrow money upon the certificate of his admission upon the list. He was supplied with a small sum by a set of usurers, who demanded exorbitant interest, and the practice continuing for a few years, the whole of the pension was swallowed up in usury. To remedy this evil, Mr. Pitt provided by his bill, that half a year's pension should always be paid in advance, and that the annuity itself should be incapable of being mortgaged. This humane bill passed both Houses without opposition.

the mind to discharge itself of its reading on paper, instead of relying on its natural power of retention, aided and fortified by frequent revisions of its ideas and materials. Some things must be common-placed, in order to be of any use — dates, chronological order, and the like; for instance, Nathaniel Bacon ought to be extracted in the best method you can. But, in general, my advice to you is, not to common-place upon paper, but, as an equivalent to it, to endeavour to range and methodize in your head what you read, and by so doing frequently and habitually to fix matter in the memory.

I desired you some time since to read Lord Clarendon's History of the civil wars.⁽¹⁾ I have

(1) "At the same time, with the study of Lord Bolingbroke's 'Remarks on the History of England,' Lord Chatham appears to have recommended to his nephew the study of a very different work, the History of Lord Clarendon; but he speaks with some distrust of the integrity of that valuable writer. When a statesman traces, for the instruction of posterity, the living images of the men and manners of his time, the passions by which he has himself been agitated, and the revolutions in which his own life and fortunes were involved, the picture will doubtless retain a strong impression of the mind, the character, and the opinions of its author: but there will always be a wide interval between the bias of sincere conviction, and the dishonesty of intentional misrepresentations.

"Clarendon was unquestionably a lover of truth, and a sincere friend to the free constitution of his country. He defended that constitution in parliament, with zeal and energy, against*

* "See particularly the accounts in Rushworth and Whitelock, of Clarendon's parliamentary conduct in 1640 and 1641; and of that of Falkland and Colpepper, with whom he acted." — *Lord Grenville*.

lately read a much honester and more instructive book, of the same period of history; it is the

the encroachments of prerogative, and concurred in the establishment of new securities necessary for its protection. He did, indeed, when these had been obtained, oppose with equal determination those continually increasing demands of Parliament, which appeared to him to threaten the existence of the monarchy itself; desirous, if possible, to conciliate the maintenance of public liberty with the preservation of domestic peace, and to turn aside from his country all the evils to which those demands immediately and manifestly tended.*

“The wish was honourable and virtuous, but it was already become impracticable. The purposes of irreconcilable ambition, entertained by both the contending parties, were utterly inconsistent with the re-establishment of mutual confidence. The parliamentary leaders openly grasped at the exclusive possession of all civil and all military authority; and, on the other hand, the perfidy with which the King had violated his past engagements still rankled in the hearts of his people, whose just suspicions of his sincerity were continually renewed by the unsteadiness of his conduct, even in the very moments of fresh concession; while, amongst a large portion of the community, every circumstance of civil injury or oppression was inflamed and aggravated by the utmost violence of religious animosity.

“In this unhappy state the calamities of civil war could no longer be averted; but the miseries by which the contest was attended, and the military tyranny to which it so naturally led, justified all the fears of those who had from the beginning most dreaded that terrible extremity.

“At the restoration the same virtuous statesman protected the constitution against the blind or interested zeal of excessive loyalty; and, if Monk had the glory of restoring the monarchy

* “A general recapitulation of these demands may be found in the message sent by the two Houses to the King, on the 2d of June, 1642; a paper which is recited by Ludlow as explanatory of the real intentions of the Parliament at that period, and as being ‘in effect the principal foundation of the ensuing war.’” 1 Ludlow, 30, ed. 1698. — *Lord Grenville*.

History of the Parliament, by Thomas May, Esq. &c. ⁽¹⁾ I will send it to you as soon as you return to Cambridge. If you have not read Burnet's History of his own Times, I beg you will. I hope your father is well. My love to the girls.

Your ever affectionate,

W. PITT.

of England, to Clarendon is ascribed the merit of re-establishing her laws and liberties. A service no less advantageous to the crown than honourable to himself; but which was numbered among the chief of those offences for which he was afterwards abandoned, sacrificed, and persecuted by his unfeeling, corrupt, and profligate master.

“These observations respecting one of the most upright characters of our history, are here delivered with freedom, though in some degree opposed to so high an authority. The habit of forming such opinions for ourselves, instead of receiving them from others, is not the least among the advantages of such a course of reading and reflection, as Lord Chatham recommends.” — *Lord Grenville*.

(¹) “May, the translator of Lucan, had been much countenanced by Charles I. but quitted the court on some personal disgust, and afterwards became secretary to the parliament. His history was published in 1647 under their authority and license, and cannot by any means be considered as an impartial work. It is, however, well worthy of being attentively read; and the contemptuous character given of it by Clarendon (*Life*, vol. i. p. 35.) is as much below its real merit, as Clarendon's own history is superior to it.” — *Lord Grenville*.

HORATIO WALPOLE, ESQ. (1) TO MR. PITT.

Wolterton, October, 19, 1754.

DEAR SIR,

UPON the death of our great and good friend, Mr. Pelham, you were often in my thoughts, whilst the settlement of affairs were in agitation; but as I saw no day-light for what I heartily wished, and could be of no consequence to promote it, I could neither write any thing to you that could please me, nor be agreeable to you. However, besides my private friendship for you, which is unalterable, for the sake of the public, although at my age and in my situation I can be no service to it myself, I have often inquired after your health. Our friend my Lord Royston, who has done me the honour of a visit here, and who had seen you at Wrest, acquainted me it was tolerably good; and I hope I shall have the pleasure of finding it so in London, where I purpose to be a few days before the Parliament meets; and I suppose curiosity at the first opening of a new one, and contested elections, will make a full house.

In the meantime, I am, with the most affectionate regard, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and

most humble servant,

H. WALPOLE.

(1) Afterwards Lord Walpole.

THOMAS PITT, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Cambridge, March 29, 1755.

DEAR UNCLE,

I AM almost ashamed to see the date of your letter, and should be uneasy that I had not answered it sooner, did I not imagine business would be the most acceptable apology I could make to you. I am sorry I cannot have the pleasure of giving up a very agreeable jaunt (in not going to Newmarket), to the advice and request of a friend I so deservedly love; not that I intend to go there neither, but, to say the truth, I am not able to make a merit of foregoing what I had resolved against before I knew your pleasure; for really, though I am at present pretty quiet and easy in my mind, I am by no means disposed for that kind of diversion.

A letter from those good girls, my sisters (¹), is just come to my hands, and I doubt not you will partake of my joy and satisfaction to hear they are all in good health; the letter is dated from Rouen, but they are going to Paris. They give a charming account of Normandy, and seem at present in the best of spirits that could be hoped for; indeed, the people are civil, and every body is good-humoured. Pray communicate this good news to all that will be glad to hear it. Let me

(¹) Amelia, married to William Spry, LL. D., and Christiana, to Thomas Saunders, Esq., governor of Fort St. George.

trouble you likewise to make my compliments to Lady Hester, and tell her I thank her a thousand times for the kindness she is so good as to honour me with. Adieu, my good uncle.

Most affectionately yours,

THOMAS PITT.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS PITT, ESQ.

Pay Office, April 9, 1755.

MY DEAR NEPHEW,

I REJOICE extremely to hear that your father and the girls are not unentertained in their travels. In the meantime, your travels through the paths of literature, arts, and sciences—a road, sometimes set with flowers, and sometimes difficult, laborious, and arduous—are not only infinitely more profitable in future, but at present, upon the whole, infinitely more delightful. My own travels at present are none of the pleasantest. I am going through a fit of the gout, with much proper pain, and what proper patience I may. *Avis au lecteur*, my sweet boy: remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth: let no excesses lay the foundations of gout and the rest of Pandora's box; nor any immoralities or vicious courses sow the seeds of a too late and painful repentance.

Here ends my sermon; which, I trust, you are not fine gentleman enough, or in plain English, silly fellow enough, to laugh at. Lady Hester is

much yours. Let me hear some account of your intercourse with the Muses, and believe me, ever

Your truly affectionate,

W. PITT.

THOMAS PITT, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Cambridge, April 12, 1755.

DEAREST UNCLE,

I HAD the pleasure of receiving yours last night, and am glad the pain you feel at present will conduce to your future ease and health; though methinks the *gout* is the most disagreeable remedy for the *gout* that can possibly be applied.

My literary journey has proved hitherto pretty successful. I mean pleasant; for though some of the roads are rough and rocky, and others stiff and heavy, yet I find frequently the welcome variety of smooth verdure and easy turf. I have gone through Wilson ⁽¹⁾ with a good deal of attention, and have got a good way in the Bishop of Meaux ⁽²⁾ the second time; but find chronology, even in him, is a soil rather of a clayey nature, and I have been forced to apply to pen and ink for my assistance. Lord Clarendon has

(1) Arthur Wilson's History of the Life and Reign of James the First.

(2) Bossuet, "Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle."

carried me down again to the regions of Bradock Down ; a place, it seems, of consequence enough to be recorded among the memorabilia of history ; and I own I cannot but feel some extraordinary emotions, when I consider of what importance a Buller, Carew, Trevanion, or even Lord Mohun himself, was accounted in those times. Why may not others hope to bear at least as considerable a share of interest in their country ?

I have an additional work upon my hands at present, which will, I suppose, take up no small part of my time for a while ; namely, a declamation, which is at last come to my turn. My subject is — *an omne solum forti patria est* — which I have, after some deliberation, determined to deny ; as I imagine I shall speak more from my heart in defending the true patriot and sincere lover of his country, than in examining the nice distinctions that may dissolve the duty towards that common parent. But here, methinks, I want the assistance of one who, by his practice as well as precepts, can sufficiently inspire any cause. I will name no names, but only wish that I may, in this juvenile exercise, prove myself worthy of being thought

Your affectionate nephew,

THOMAS PITT.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS PITT, ESQ.

Pay Office, April 15, 1755.

A THOUSAND thanks to my dear boy for a very pretty letter. I like extremely the account you give of your literary life. The reflections you make upon some West Saxon actors in the times you are reading, are natural, manly, and sensible, and flow from a heart that will make you far superior to any of them.

I am content you should be interrupted (provided the interruption be not long) in the course of your reading, by declaiming in defence of the thesis you have so wisely chosen to maintain. It is true, indeed, that the affirmative maxim, *Omne solum forti patria est*, has supported some great and good men under the persecutions of faction and party injustice, and taught them to prefer an hospitable retreat in a foreign land to an unnatural mother-country. Some few such may be found in ancient times; in our own country also some; such was Algernon Sidney, Ludlow⁽¹⁾, and others. But

(1) "Stopped at Vevay; walked to the church; view from the churchyard superb; within it General Ludlow's (the regicide) monument — black marble — long inscription — Latin but simple; he was an exile two and thirty years — one of King Charles's judges: his house shown; it retains still its inscription — 'Omne solum forti patria.' " — *Lord Byron*, September 18, 1816.

how dangerous is it to trust frail, corrupt man with such an aphorism! What fatal casuistry is it big with! How many a villain might, and has masked himself in the sayings of ancient illustrious exiles, while he was, in fact, dissolving all the nearest and dearest ties that hold societies together, and spurning at all laws, divine and human! How easy the transition from this political to some impious ecclesiastical aphorisms! If all soils are alike to the brave and virtuous, so may all churches and modes of worship; — that is, all will be equally neglected and violated. Instead of every soil being his country, he will have no one for his country; he will be the forlorn outcast of mankind. Such was the late Bolingbroke of impious memory. Let me know when your declamation is over. Pardon an observation on style. “I received yours” is vulgar and mercantile; “your letter” is the way of writing. Inclose your letters in a cover; it is more polite.

Your most affectionate,

W. PITT.

THOMAS PITT, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Cambridge, April 20, 1755.

DEAR UNCLE,

THE encouragement you give me cannot fail of raising in my mind the most ardent resolution of persevering stedfastly and diligently in every

step that may tend to the glorious and emulating prospect you place before me. May your words be prophetic; and may I, in due time, be enabled to play on the theatre of life a character superior to any of those whom I look back upon at present with a feeling of admiration! For though fame is the sweet reward of noble actions, yet it is a reward that every one has it not in his power to arrive at, and most men must be satisfied with but a moderate share of glory; and yet, I imagine, he that sets out with full vigour and resolution to reach the goal, though infinitely inferior in strength and abilities, will be much more likely to attain the envied prize, than the most happily equipped, whose sluggish ambition scarce carries on his view beyond the distance post.

For my own part, I must confess, my ambition instigates me to wish and hope to be a great man; and by that I mean, to be a conspicuously good man; to have my abilities increased in proportion to my good will to mankind; and if I desire renown and praise, it is only such as the happiness of others, by my means, may effectually reflect upon me. Glory, attended with self-applause, is a real happiness; but if not seconded within by a consciousness of desert, it would give me no more joy, than if by a mistake in a crowd I should be honoured with the title of “your Grace.”

I have made use of the liberty you were so kind as to give me, of drawing upon your banker, Mr. Campbell, for twenty pounds, which I would thank

you for with the utmost gratitude, if I thought you would allow me to enlarge upon the subject. I will trouble you with my best respects to Lady Hester, and be so good as to give my love to your sister, and tell her the parcel is arrived safe at Clare Hall. I am

Your most affectionate nephew,

THOMAS PITT.

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY FOX TO MR. PITT.

[The next seven letters, and the Remarks which follow them, are headed, in the originals, "Negotiation with Mr. Fox."]

[April 25, 1755.]

DEAR SIR,

LORD WALDEGRAVE told the Duke of Newcastle he was come by his Majesty's command, and had a well-grounded opinion that Mr. Fox would not desire any thing that his Grace might not readily grant him, and would take the lead of the House of Commons. He had no sooner dropped this expression than the Duke stopped him, and said, "there must be some mistake; the King could not mean to give Mr. Fox the lead of the House of Commons. He could not mean it to him nor to anybody;" — (so you see the plan is thoroughly avowed) — "but he would ask the King." His Majesty confirmed it; but it was necessary, as it always must be, for Lord Waldegrave to supply

some defects in his Grace's manner of reporting, and Lord Waldegrave was with his Majesty half an hour yesterday morning. His Majesty, in the most determined manner, gave a negative to the lead of the House of Commons. He will have no leader there. What he expects and requires is, that his servants should act in concert and with spirit in their respective departments, and not quarrel among themselves.

Here I stop to inform you what I now believe his Majesty did mean. He talked to me with an intention, if you was dismissed, to give me your employment. What rascals they must be themselves to think, as I believe they did, that I should not only accept, but be glad of it. His Majesty added to Lord Waldegrave, that there had been some mistake; Fox had mistaken him, and may be, he had mistaken Fox; wherefore he desired Fox would put his meaning in writing. Lord Waldegrave brought me this message, at the same time saying, that it was not meant, nor would signify any thing, that I should give my thoughts on *the lead*; for that was, he saw, absolutely determined. He added, what I always thought, that they considered themselves on such ground, and so sure of a majority, that the terror which his Lordship owned, in their situation, would influence him, of our junction, &c., had no effect, nor would have till it was too late.

In this discourse with him and the Duke of Newcastle arose two plans for the letter I am to deliver to the King. The first and most obvious

one, immediately arose from me. To submit to his Majesty's pleasure as to the lead, giving, at the same time, my opinion of its consequences in short and general terms, and to assure his Majesty that I had thought, and could find no possibility of obeying his commands, or doing more than I had before mentioned, in my present situation. The other arose from their Lordships, and arose from one true motive, that there was nothing that was not as bad or worse ; and reasoned thus : If you get this nothing, you must tell the King and the Duke of Newcastle it is, and indeed it is, nothing ; but you must talk in the House as if it was the lead ; and if no good comes (and I believe no good will come) of that, you may at all times take to sitting still, or quitting.

I send the enclosed for your consideration, containing both plans. If you can think of a third, I shall be obliged to you. Let me have, dear Sir, a conversation with you on this matter this evening, not at your own house, for a reason I will tell you when we meet, but at Calcraft's ⁽¹⁾, at mine, or at Mr. Hamilton's. ⁽²⁾ I think my own best, and beg

(1) Mr. Calcraft was at this time Mr. Fox's private secretary.

(2) William Gerard Hamilton, at this time member for Petersfield. In the November of this year he delivered that *single speech*, upon which his reputation has exclusively rested. "Young Mr. Hamilton," says Horace Walpole, who was present, "opened for the first time in behalf of the treaties, and was at once perfection: his speech was set, and full of antitheses, but those antitheses were full of argument; and he broke through the regularity of his own composition, answered

you will send me word the hour. Your name has not been mentioned, otherwise than casually, between Lord Waldegrave and the Duke of Newcastle, and not materially in all these conversations.

Yours ever,

H. Fox.

You may show this letter and the enclosed to those you most confide in if you please.

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY FOX TO MR. PITT.

[April 25, 1755.]

DEAR SIR,

I DO not like the paper you have just now returned; and it is no wonder, as it was wrote when I had scarce a thought myself of doing what had been suggested, and is contained in the latter part of it.

Since your conversation last night, I have imagined that, if that is to be proposed, the less that is said of any other matter the better. It has

other people, and fell into his own track again with the greatest ease. His figure is advantageous, his voice strong and clear, his manner spirited, and the whole with the ease of an established speaker. You will ask, what could be beyond this? Nothing, but what was beyond what ever was — and that was Pitt!" In December following Mr. Hamilton was rewarded with a seat at the Board of Trade: in 1761, he was appointed secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and for many years held the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer of that kingdom. He died in 1796.

been said, I had better not name the cabinet council. I have accordingly drawn the enclosed very short paper, which you will please to keep, and only let me know, whether you think the words after "speaking of" were better left out or inserted. I have curtailed, with design, the particulars of what I am to undertake. I am,

Dear Sir, ever yours,

H. Fox.

Friday.

Pray send a word of answer to the War Office.

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY FOX TO THE KING.

[Enclosed in the above.]

[April 25, 1755.]

SIR,

INFINITELY thankful for your Majesty's command received by Lord Waldegrave, to explain myself in writing, I must begin with asking pardon for having mistaken your Majesty. But I now understand your Majesty does not intend to have any leader in the House of Commons, and I receive your pleasure on this head, with that duty and submission that becomes me.

What your Majesty requires I understand is, that on all occasions, as well not relative as relative to the army, I should act with spirit for your Majesty's service in the House of Commons ; and

your Majesty bids me put in writing what will enable me to obey these your commands.

Thinking no more, then, of taking the lead, but of your Majesty's commands only, I answer, that I desire neither money nor power, but some such mark only of your Majesty's favour, as may enable me to speak like one perfectly informed, and honoured with your Majesty's confidence in regard to the matters I may be speaking of [I know not how this can be done, but by your Majesty's command that I should be summoned to your cabinet council.](¹)

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY FOX TO MR. PITT.

[April 25, 1755.]

DEAR SIR,

THE paper has already undergone some alterations. I had not attended to your having struck out "*no more power*," which I think was judiciously done; and the Duke insists on my putting in, "*in the present state of the House of Commons*," that I may not be supposed absolutely engaged, and have no words to show, that guarded against a certain event, which he agrees with me, though you don't, must and should put an end to this scheme, not too promising as it is. He advises leaving out the words at the end; for his Majesty will probably, he says,

(¹) The words in brackets are those alluded to in the preceding letter.

have heard the words *cabinet councillor*, before he sees the paper, and cannot possibly mistake.

I am, dear Sir,

Your ever obliged,

H. Fox.

MR. PITT TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY FOX.

[April 25, 1755.]

DEAR SIR,

I DARE not urge any reasons of mine against an opinion of so great authority in every respect; but if I might still be allowed to offer an advice, I cannot but think the words inserted may be liable to unfavourable constructions to both you and me; to you, as carrying the air of a sort of capitulation (if taken in one sense); to me, as implying perhaps through you, a solicitude about that certain event to which those words obscurely allude. Add to this, that the combination so strongly charged, and as strongly and with truth denied, would seem to receive a colour from this intimation.

All this is submitted with perfect deference to that great opinion, as well as to your own.

I am, dear Sir,

Most faithfully yours,

W. PITT.

Friday, 8 o'clock.

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY FOX TO MR. PITT.

[April 25, 1755.]

DEAR SIR,

I AM very sure the words can carry no sense that can be ever perverted to hurt you, in the point on which I honour you for being so delicate. As for me, I would not have them thought, in the first instance, a capitulation. But if I am to recur to them, I would avow them as such, and for that reason insert them; a capitulation between me and them, to which you are no party. If they are alleged as proof of a combination, which I denied, I shall answer any body but his Majesty in another way. To his Majesty I shall say with truth, though not with anger, that they are my thoughts, and *terms*, if he pleases to call them so, arising from my own interest and situation; because, on no consideration will I venture on this weak scheme, unless strengthened by your acquiescence in it; nor, were it a secure and strong one, with the least appearance against me, (and I think it would be great;) or with the feeling I should have, if I accepted a favour now, when you were to receive, and perhaps, in their opinion, they were enabled to give you, an affront.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours ever,

H. Fox.

P. S. If you still think your delicacy affected,

I will write as you may alter this expression. As far as it concerns myself, I will adhere to my own sentiment, though it were not confirmed by the Duke.

Friday night.

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY FOX TO MR. PITT.

April 26, 1755.

DEAR SIR,

THE King, about four this afternoon, sent me word by Lord Waldegrave, *that he graciously condescended to admit me into his cabinet council.* ⁽¹⁾ I want to tell you more than I can pretend to write. My house has proved as bad for our meeting at as yours. Pray think of some other place, and let me know a sure one. Whether the determination is likely to be wise or foolish with regard to you, I have taken so much pains in vain to learn, that I conclude there is no determination yet. I find nothing is so terrible as what, if they knew us, they ought to wish, our being in conjunction with them and in their service. This makes it important that we should not be known to meet—and yet we should. Adieu!

H. Fox.

The bearer, Calcraft, will wait for your answer, at what hour you please to-morrow or next day,

(1) In the gazette of the same evening Mr. Fox's name appeared as one of the Lord's Commissioners, and on the 28th the King took his departure for Hanover.

unless you approve of our not meeting; and then I can contrive to lay the whole before George Grenville. I hate this mystery; 'tis their fault. ⁽¹⁾

(1) The following is Lord Waldegrave's own account of his share in this negotiation: — "Murray and Sir Thomas Robinson were at this time the only leading members in the House of Commons, in whom the Duke of Newcastle had a thorough confidence; but the one wanted abilities, the other wanted spirit; and though the administration had in every division a very great majority, many of their steadiest voters were laughers at least, if not encouragers, on the other side of the question. It therefore became necessary that Pitt and Fox should be disunited; one of them must be treated with, and Fox was first applied to, as being thought more practicable, less disagreeable to the King, and more a man of business. As Fox was apt to be warm, and the Duke as apt to be shuffling, it seemed necessary that some neutral person should negotiate between them, and his Majesty thought proper to employ me on this occasion, because I belonged to neither of them, but was a well-wisher to both.

"That the progress of this amicable treaty might not be interrupted by a fresh quarrel, I persuaded them to defer their meeting till they had settled preliminaries, and clearly understood each other's meaning. Fox very readily gave me his demands in writing, which I reported to the King, and entered into a more minute explanation with the Duke of Newcastle, who made some objections, and proposed some alterations, but consented to most of the material articles. There would have been many more difficulties, if I had not began by terrifying his Grace with a melancholy representation of the fatal consequences of Fox's uniting with Pitt in open opposition: how he would be exposed to all the virulence of abusive oratory; how his leaders in the House of Commons would be treated with contempt; and how his numerous parliamentary forces, having learned to despise their generals, would soon become mutinous and ungovernable. On the other hand I assured Fox, that the King had, if possible, still less inclination to make him a minister than the Duke of Newcastle himself. I therefore ad-

REMARKS ON THE PRECEDING CORRESPONDENCE.

[In the hand-writing of Mr. Pitt.]

IF Mr. Fox should be treated with by the Duke of Newcastle, what must be our situation? He must either close with the offers made him, to our prejudice, or demand that satisfaction should be made to us; that is, in effect, treat for us. If he takes the first part, that of dropping us; possessed as he is of the Duke, pushed and supported by Lord Granville, reconciled with and assisted by Stone, favoured by Lady Yarmouth, and liked and trusted by the King, we shall be left without a remedy. If he takes the other honourable part, that of treating for us; we are thereby reduced to a very inferior situation in point of figure, and entangled inextricably by such an obligation (no matter for the motives of his seeming generosity) not only for

vised him as a friend, to rest satisfied with a moderate share of power, and to wait for a more favourable opportunity, unless he had absolutely determined to join Pitt, set the nation in a flame, and take the closet by storm. All natural difficulties being at last removed, I proposed an interview, which produced the following agreement:— that Fox should be called up to the cabinet council; that employments should be given to some of his friends, who were not provided for; and that others, who had places already, should be removed to higher stations." — *Memoirs*, p. 32.

the present, but embarked in his bottom, in all appearance, for times to come. ⁽¹⁾

Is not some remedy to be thought of against so disadvantageous, mortifying, and dangerous a situation? May not that remedy be to resolve to talk for ourselves, and endeavour to bring things to some explanation, before the above-mentioned conjuncture is actually come upon us? Is not the sort of overture, made through Mr. Walpole ⁽²⁾, a

(1) "May 9, 1755. Mr. Pitt came to Lord Hillsborough's, where was Mr. Fox, who, stepping aside, and Mr. Pitt thinking, he was gone, the latter declared to Lord Hillsborough, that all connection between him and Mr. Fox was over — that the *ground was altered* — that Fox was of the cabinet and regent — that he would be *second* to nobody, &c. Mr. Fox rejoining the company, Mr. Pitt, being heated, said the same and more to him; that if Fox succeeded, and so made way for him, he would not accept the seals of secretary from him, for that would be owning an obligation and superiority, which he would never acknowledge: he would owe nothing but to himself. Mr. Fox asked him, what would put them upon the same ground? to which Pitt replied, a winter in the cabinet, and a summer's regency. Pitt talked the same over again to Lord Hillsborough, who endeavoured to soften matters; but Pitt was unalterable, and desired him, as a friend, to take an opportunity of telling Mr. Fox that he wished there might be no further conversation between them on the subject; that he esteemed Mr. Fox, but that all connection with him was at an end." — *Dodington's Diary*, p. 284.

(2) "At one period the two rival orators seem to have arranged their respective pretensions: Mr. Fox was to be placed at the head of the treasury, and Mr. Pitt to have the seals of secretary of state. But this agreement was of short duration. Mr. Pitt was incensed, because his rival was admitted into the cabinet, and appointed one of the lords of the regency. Mr. Walpole was deeply concerned at this fatal struggle between two

sufficient and natural foundation for some conversation, in which I might avail myself of the dispositions intimated in my favour? — take them for sincere and real, and ground on them a desire that, at least, my state with the King might be brought to an explicit point? — that I could no longer remain in the dark, concerning a thing upon which all my conduct ought in reason to turn? — that, if I am so unhappy as to lie under his Majesty's irremovable displeasure, and an unalterable determination, in consequence of it, that I am at no time and in no exigency, to be suffered to have the honour to be admitted to the closet; that, at least, I might humbly hope to hear the grounds of his Majesty's so deep rooted aversion? — whether it grows out of an opinion *that*

persons with whom he was equally connected. He considered Mr. Pitt as the only person who, from his independent spirit and energy of character, was capable of over-ruling the wavering councils of a divided cabinet; and with this prepossession he eagerly accepted a commission from the Duke of Newcastle, to effect an accommodation with Mr. Pitt, and endeavoured to soothe his inflexible spirit, by apologising for the Duke's conduct, and declaring in his name that the utmost endeavours had been used to gratify his wishes. Mr. Pitt received the overtures with complacency; but demanded, as a proof of the Duke's sincerity, that the proscription which excluded him from the cabinet should be removed, and a promise obtained from the King of the seals in case of a vacancy. Mr. Walpole approved these proposals; but the Duke of Newcastle, with his usual versatility, expressed his resentment against Mr. Walpole for exceeding his commission, and agreeing to terms which he was neither willing nor able to grant." — *Coxe's Lord Walpole*, vol. ii. p. 405.

my services would be useless there, in which his Majesty would but do me right ; or from impressions on the Royal mind, infinitely more mortifying to me, namely, that I am *not worthy to be trusted* there, in which I am willing to flatter myself his Majesty would have been misled to do me some wrong. Whichever the fatal cause of my depression may be, is it not reasonable, just, and necessary, that I should know it, in order that I may no longer look towards impossible things, perhaps continue to do injustice in my thoughts to endeavours in my favour that may have been sincere though fruitless, and waste my life under a delusion that must prove fatal to the little credit I may still be fortunate enough to have to manage with the world ?

If I have flattered myself in vain with the hopes the Royal mind must relent, —when the hard, irrevocable decree, together with the grounds of it is known to me, I may take my final part as reason will warrant, according to the necessity imposed on me. I shall then be enabled, upon certainty and knowledge, to determine either for acquiescence as I am, or resistance of what I hope I don't deserve, or for a retreat from both.

THOMAS PITT, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Clare Hall, May 18, 1755.

DEAR UNCLE,

My declamation is at length over ; and with much fear and trembling I have endeavoured publicly to testify the love I bear my country, and I really think it no very insignificant trial of assurance, especially as I have been of late a good deal out of order with a feverish disorder that I have pretty well got the better of at present. * * *

Your ever affectionate nephew,

THOMAS PITT.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS PITT, ESQ.

Pay Office, May 20, 1755.

MY DEAR NEPHEW,

I AM extremely concerned to hear that you have been ill, especially as your account of an illness, you speak of as past, implies such remains of disorder as I beg you will give all proper attention to. By the medicine your physician has ordered, I conceive he considers your case in some degree nervous. If that be so, advise with him whether a little change of air and of the scene, together with some weeks course of steel waters, might not be highly proper for you. I am to go the day after to-morrow to

Sunning Hill, in Windsor Forest, where I propose to drink those waters for about a month. Lady Hester and I shall be happy in your company, if your doctor shall be of opinion that such waters may be of service to you ; which, I hope, will be his opinion. Besides health recovered, the muses shall not be quite forgot : we will ride, read, walk, and philosophise, extremely at our ease, and you may return to Cambridge with new ardour, or at least with strength repaired, when we leave Sunning Hill. If you come, the sooner the better, on all accounts. We propose to go into Buckinghamshire in about a month.

I rejoice that your declamation is over, and that you have begun, my dearest nephew, to open your mouth in public, *ingenti patriæ percussus amore*. I wish I had heard you perform ; the only way I ever shall hear your praises from your own mouth. My gout prevented my so much intended and wished-for journey to Cambridge, and now my plan of drinking waters renders it impossible. Come then, my dear boy, to us ; and so as Mahomet and the mountain meet, no matter which moves to the other. Adieu.

Your ever affectionate,

W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS PITT, ESQ.

July 13, 1755.

MY DEAR NEPHEW,

I HAVE delayed writing to you in expectation of hearing farther from you upon the subject of your stay at college. No news is the best news; and I will hope now that all your difficulties upon that head are at an end. I represent you to myself deep in study, and drinking large draughts of intellectual nectar; a very delicious state to a mind happy enough and elevated enough to thirst after knowledge and true honest fame, even as the heart panteth after the water brooks.

When I name knowledge, I ever intend learning as the weapon and instrument only of manly, honourable, and virtuous action upon the stage of the world, both in private and public life, as a gentleman, and as a member of the commonwealth, who is to answer for all he does to the laws of his country, to his own breast and conscience, and at the tribunal of honour and good fame. You, my dear boy, will not only be acquitted, but applauded and dignified at all these respectable and awful bars. So *macte tuâ virtute!* Go on and prosper in your glorious and happy career, not forgetting to walk an hour briskly, every morning and evening, to fortify the nerves. I wish to hear, in some little

time, of the progress you shall have made in the course of reading chalked out. Adieu.

Your ever affectionate uncle,

W. PITT.

Lady Hester desires her best compliments to you.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS PITT, ESQ.

Stowe, July 24, 1755.

MY DEAR NEPHEW,

I AM just leaving this place to go to Wotton ; but I will not lose the post, though I have time but for one line. I am extremely happy that you can stay at your college, and pursue the prudent and glorious resolution of employing your present moments with a view to the future. May your noble and generous love of virtue pay you with the sweet rewards of a self-approving heart, and an applauding country ! and may I enjoy the true satisfaction of seeing your fame and happiness, and of thinking that I may have been fortunate enough to have contributed, in any small degree, to do common justice to kind nature by a suitable education !

I am no very good judge of the question concerning the books. I believe they are your own in the same sense that your wearing apparel is. I would retain them, and leave the candid and equitable Mr. * * * to plan, with the honest Mr. * * *,

schemes of perpetual vexation. As to the persons just mentioned, I trust that you bear about a mind and heart much superior to such malice; and that you are as little capable of resenting it, with any sensations but those of cool decent contempt, as you are of fearing the consequences of such low efforts. As to the caution money, I think you have done well. The case of the chambers, I conceive, you likewise apprehend rightly. Let me know in your next what these two articles require you to pay down, and how far your present cash is exhausted, and I will direct Mr. Campbell to give you credit accordingly. Believe me, my dear nephew, truly happy to be of use to you.

Your ever affectionate,

W. PITT.

THOMAS PITT, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Clare Hall, July 27, 1755.

THANKS to my dearest uncle for his very kind and affectionate letter. Believe me, sir, when I consider the very particular happiness I am blest with in having such friends to assist and comfort me in my uneasy situation, I am so far from repining and complaining at my distresses, that I think they deserve the most hearty congratulations and thanksgivings. I shall, according to your

advice, keep the books, at least till I am further pressed upon that subject; and, in the meantime, I assure you * * * * is most freely welcome to indulge his evil genius, if he pleases; for as I am, thank God, superior to the power of his malice, so am I most thoroughly insensible to any of the mean marks of his displeasure. The caution money comes to twenty-five pounds, and the income of my former rooms to about twelve more. I am not, however, in any immediate want at present; but if you will be so good as to leave an order with Mr. Campbell for twenty pounds, I shall be able to draw upon him for it when I want it.

If this finds you, as I suppose it will, at Wotton, I beg leave to trouble you with my best respects to Mr. and Mrs. Grenville, and assure them nothing but the Muses could detain me from accepting the invitation they so kindly offered me of passing part of my vacation with them. I am, my dearest uncle, with the warmest gratitude,

Your most affectionate nephew,

THOMAS PITT.

THOMAS PITT, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Clare Hall, August 27, 1755.

* * * I HAVE, I believe, since I last wrote to you, finished Ludlow, Burnet's History of his Own

Times, and Hale's History of the Common Law. His analysis of the law seems to be a work of infinite merit; but I should imagine would be much more useful to a person who studies the law, and pursues the course as he directs him. I am impatient, my dear uncle, to hear from you the joyful news of an addition to your family, which, I doubt not, will soon give us an opportunity to admire you as much in the father, as we already do in the patron, the husband, and the friend. Give me leave to trouble you with my love to Lady Hester, and believe me,

Your most affectionate nephew,

THOMAS PITT.

HORATIO WALPOLE, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Wolterton, Sept. 15, 1755.

DEAR SIR,

At the close of your favour to me of a distant date, you asked me a question which I did not answer sooner, because I could not, and which, although I am still as little able to do, I now think proper to mention, that Mr. Pitt may not imagine, that any thing can fall from his mouth or pen unworthy of my notice. You were pleased to say, "you long to know my ideas upon public affairs!" now, except what relates to the peace and quiet of the administration in Ireland, which you will easily

believe, for particular reasons, I have much at heart⁽¹⁾, I can sincerely assure you, that I have never desired, and have never received, besides what is in the ordinary news, any information concerning public affairs, and am entirely a stranger to the plan of measures to be pursued at this great crisis; and therefore you will easily believe that my ideas must, for want of lights, be very dark and imperfect.

The conclusion of your letter was remarkable. You say, that "as to yourself you despair of the public affairs, unless the sense of impending ruin should awaken an age sunk in supineness, and blinded by faction." I was sorry to read these expressions from Mr. Pitt; because they seem to disappoint entirely some hopes I was willing to entertain, that a ministerial plan would at last be settled in such a manner, as you know I employed great though fruitless pains to compass⁽²⁾; for the day before I left town, I had an intimation, which I could not question, that a great magistrate, or minister of state, was in a few days to have a confidential conference with you on the same subject, which is so essential and necessary for the public weal. Whether that conference was held, and what was the result of it if it was, I suppose can be of no consequence to inquire now. As to my

(1) Mr. Walpole's eldest son had married Lady Rachael Cavendish, daughter of the Duke of Devonshire, at this time Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

(2) See p. 135.

coming to town, I am well and quiet here, and I don't see that my presence alone can be of any service to my distracted country ; though it is possible the finishing the purchase of a small estate will, as the lawyers tell me it must, carry me to town, or the Appleby election, if that is not compromised. I am ever, with the greatest affection and esteem, dear Sir,

Your most obedient,

most humble servant,

H. WALPOLE.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS PITT, ESQ.

Bath, September 25, 1755.

I HAVE not conversed with my dear nephew a long time. I have been much in a post-chaise, living a wandering, Scythian life, and he has been more usefully employed than in reading or writing letters, — travelling through the various, instructing, and entertaining road of history. I have a particular pleasure in hearing now and then a word from you in your journey, just while you are changing horses, if I may so call it, and getting from one author to another. I suppose you going through the biographers, from Edward the Fourth downwards, not intending to stop, till you reach to the continuator of honest Rapin. There is a little

book I never mentioned, Welwood's Memoirs.⁽¹⁾ I recommend it. Davis's Ireland⁽²⁾ must not on any account be omitted: it is a great performance, a masterly work, and contains much depth and extensive knowledge in state matters, and settling of countries, in a very short compass. I have met with a scheme of chronology by Blair, showing all cotemporary historical characters through all ages. It is of great use to consult frequently, in order to fix periods, and throw collateral light upon any particular branch you are reading. Let me know, when I have the pleasure of a letter from you, how far you are advanced in English history.

You may probably not have heard authentically of Governor Lyttelton's captivity and release.⁽³⁾ He is safe and well in England, after being taken and detained in France some days. Sir Richard and he met, unexpectedly enough, at Brussels,

(1) "Memoirs of the most material Transactions in England, for the last hundred Years preceding the Revolution of 1688."

(2) Entitled "A Discourse of the true Causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued, nor brought under Obedience of the Crown of England, until the beginning of His Majesty's happy Reign," and first published in 1612.

(3) William Henry, sixth son of Sir Thomas Lyttelton of Hagley, appointed, in 1755, governor of South Carolina. The Blandford man of war, in which he was proceeding to his government, was captured by the French squadron under Count Guay, and sent into Nantz, but was shortly after restored. In 1760, he was constituted governor of Jamaica; in 1766, envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Portugal; in 1776, created Baron Westcote, of Ballymore in the county of Longford; and in 1794, a British peer, by the title of Lord Lyttelton. He died in 1808.

and came together to England. I purpose returning to London in about a week ; where I hope to find Lady Hester as well as I left her. We are both much indebted for your kind and affectionate wishes. *In publica commoda peccem, si longo sermone morer* one bent on so honourable and virtuous a journey as you are.

Your most affectionate

W. PITT.

THOMAS PITT, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Clare Hall, October 7, 1755.

DEAR UNCLE,

Do you not wonder what is become of me, that I have not yet answered the letter you wrote me of the 25th of last month ? Indeed, you have reason to accuse me of laziness ; but I assure you that is not the only cause of my silence. Sir Richard Lyttelton promised me the honour of a visit at Clare Hall last week, and I laid strong injunctions upon him to bring you with him. I am afraid he has been so far from executing his commission with care, that he has suffered himself to be detained by you in town, at least some time longer, as I have heard nothing of him.

The progress I have made in my historical journey since I wrote to you has not been incon-

siderable. I have gone through Ireland with Sir John Davis very attentively, and am extremely pleased with my guide. His style, I confess, is something queer, but his observations are extremely judicious. His metaphors please me much: they are just and beautiful; one in particular strikes my fancy, —that wherein he compares the justices itinerant to well regulated planets, which at certain periods bless mankind with their light and influence. (1)

I have gone through Burnet's honest Whig history of his own times, and not meeting with the biographers as soon as I wanted them, I began and have almost finished Mr. Tindal. Père Orleans lies by me ready to take up immediately, and I shall then go back to those Life-writers that I have not yet read. I am conscious this way of travelling is practised only by the crab; but as I have pursued the thread of history uninterrupted, I flatter myself, I shall not have so much reason to repent it. Our lectures begin next Monday, being the new term; they will take up some of my time, but I will take care not to let alone the private studies, which will probably be of more essential use to me hereafter, than what is generally taught in colleges: however,

(1) "The number of the judges in every bench was increased, which do now every half year (like good planets in their several spheres or circles) carry the light and influence of justice round about the kingdom; whereas the circuits in former times went but round about the pale, like the circuit of the Cynosura about the pole —

'Quæ cursu niteriore, brevi convertitur orbe.'

Discourse, p. 267.

not entirely neglecting their learning, but as far as I am able gathering honey from every flower.

I am pretty well at present, but am obliged to ride every day ; which I find is the only thing that will preserve my health in Cambridge. I had a letter from my sisters lately : they are by this time at Geneva.

Adieu, my dear uncle,

Your ever affectionate nephew,

THOMAS PITT.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS PITT, ESQ.

Pay Office, Dec. 6, 1755.

OF all the various satisfactions of mind I have felt upon some late events, none has affected me with more sensibility and delight, than the reading my dear nephew's letter. The matter of it is worthy of a better age than that we live in, worthy of your own noble, untainted mind ; and the manner and expression of it is such as, I trust, will one day make you a powerful instrument towards mending the present degeneracy. Examples are unnecessary to happy natures ; and it is well for your future glory and happiness, that this is the case ; for to copy any now existing might cramp genius, and check the native spirit of the piece, rather than contribute to the perfection of it.

I learn from Sir Richard Lyttelton that we may

have the pleasure of meeting soon, as he has already, or intends to offer you a bed at his house. It is on this as on all occasions, little necessary to preach prudence, or to intimate a wish that your studies at Cambridge might not be broken by a long interruption of them. I know the rightness of your own mind, and leave you to all the generous and animating motives you find there, for pursuing improvements in literature and useful knowledge, as much better counsellors than

Your ever most affectionate uncle,

W. PITT.

Lady Hester desires her best compliments. The little cousin is well.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS PITT, ESQ.

Horse Guards, Jan. 13, 1756.

MY DEAR NEPHEW,

LET me thank you a thousand times for your remembering me, and giving me the pleasure of hearing that you were well, and had laid by the ideas of London and its dissipations, to resume the sober train of thoughts that gowns, square caps, quadrangles, and matin-bells naturally draw after them. I hope the air of Cambridge has brought no disorder upon you, and that you will compound with the Muses, so as to dedicate some hours, not

less than two, of the day to exercise. The earlier you rise, the better your nerves will bear study.

When you next do me the pleasure to write to me, I beg a copy of your Elegy on your mother's picture. It is such admirable poetry, that I beg you to plunge deep into prose and severer studies, and not indulge your genius with verse, for the present. *Finitimus oratori poeta*. Substitute Tully and Demosthenes in the place of Homer and Virgil; and arm yourself with all the variety of manner, copiousness and beauty of diction, nobleness and magnificence of ideas, of the Roman consul; and render the powers of eloquence complete by the irresistible torrent of vehement argumentation, the close and forcible reasoning, and the depth and fortitude of mind, of the Grecian statesman. This I mean at leisure intervals, and to relieve the course of those studies which you intend to make your principal object. The book relating to the empire of Germany, which I could not recollect, is Vitriarius's *Jus Publicum* (¹), an admirable book in its kind, and esteemed of the best authority in matters much controverted. We are all well. Sir Richard is upon his legs, and abroad again.

Your ever affectionate uncle,

W. PITT.

(¹) "*Institutiones Juris Publici selectissimæ.*"

THOMAS POTTER, ESQ.⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Tuesday, May 11, 1756.

YOUR kind remembrance could not but revive your poor friend, worn out as he is. If I had been going the contrary way to that which, by the assistance of the waters, seems to be my present destination, I should have stopped a moment in the journey, just to have left my thanks and acknowledgments; but I am now mounting the hill again. Hygeia, in the habit of a water nymph, beckons me, and supports my tottering steps. I advance, but still the summit is so distant, that I have scarce courage to look up to it. So just, so well aimed a blow has that malevolent giant, in the form of a doctor, given me! Each day I mount a step; but, alas! many a comfortless one is yet to be taken, before I approach the ground where ease has taken her residence.

But I find that I am capable of disagreeable sensations, besides those which my distemper furnishes. I have heard *of* you, much more than I

(1) Thomas Potter, second son of the Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1748, he was appointed secretary to Frederick Prince of Wales, which situation he continued to hold until the Prince's death in 1751. He was successively member for St. Germain's, Aylesbury, and Oakhampton, and distinguished himself in the debates on the interference of the Duke of Newcastle at the Seaford election, and on the Jews' naturalisation bill. He was made joint vice-treasurer of Ireland in 1757, and died in June 1759.

have heard *from* you ; and this week will furnish many a day, glorious to the few, as fatal and ignominious to the numbers. ⁽¹⁾ Think what he must feel, whose chief joy has been to follow the little pack, though at a distance, and who now feels himself doomed to the wicker chair for the rest of his life !

The scenes at Prior Park ⁽²⁾ change every hour ; but the worthy owner has a heart that cannot change. The present joy at the birth of an heir does not respite the labours of the gardener. Half the summer will show the bridge ; the dairy opens to the lake ; vast woods have taken possession of the naked hills ; and the lawns slope uninterrupted to the valleys. These scenes will not tempt you hither, inviting as they are ; for Lady Hester is at Wickham. Long may you both continue to enjoy what contributes to such perfect happiness ! Thus prays, though not for the last time,

Your devoted faithful friend,

THOMAS POTTER.

(1) An allusion to the anticipated warm debates on the vote of credit and Prussian treaty, which took place on the 12th and 14th of May.

(2) The splendid seat of Ralph Allen, Esq., near Bath, at which place Fielding laid the scene of the early years of Tom Jones. Mr. Allen, the Allworthy of the novel, he describes as " a human being replete with benevolence, meditating in what manner he might render himself most acceptable to his Creator, by doing most good to his creatures." Prior Park afterwards became the property of Bishop Warburton, who married Allen's favourite niece, Miss Gertrude Tucker. It has recently been converted into a Roman Catholic college.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS PITT, ESQ.

Hayes, near Bromley, May 11, 1756.

MY dear nephew's obliging letter was every way most pleasing, as I had more than begun to think it long since I had the satisfaction of hearing he was well. As the season of humidity and relaxation is now almost over, I trust that the Muses are in no danger of nervous complaints, and that whatever pains they have to tell, are out of the reach of Esculapius and not dangerous, though epidemical to youth at this soft month,

“When lavish nature, in her best attire,
Clothes the gay spring, the season of desire.”

To be serious, I hope my dearest nephew is perfectly free from all returns of his former complaint, and enabled, by an unailing body and an ardent, elevated mind, to follow, *Quo te cælestis sapientia duceret*. My holidays are now approaching, and I long to hear something of your labours; which I doubt not will prove, in their consequence, more profitable to your country, a few years hence, than your uncle's. Be so good as to let me know what progress you have made in our historical and constitutional journey, that I may suggest to you some farther reading.

Lady Hester is well, and desires her best compliments to you. I am well, but threatened with gout in my feet, from a parliamentary debauch till

six in the morning, on the Militia.⁽¹⁾ Poor Sir Richard is laid up with the gout.

Your most affectionate uncle,

W. PITT.

THE EARL OF BUTE ⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

[June 3, 1756.]

MY WORTHY FRIEND,

I AM immensely happy to hear of your success. I am desired by their royal highnesses, the Prince

(1) "A few persons sat up till near six in the morning, fabricating and fashioning the militia bill. Mr. Pitt recommended it in a fine dissertation, and it was voted without a division." — *Walpole's Geo. II.* vol. ii. p. 36.

(2) John Stuart, third Earl of Bute. In 1736, he married Mary, only daughter of Edward Wortley Montagu, Esq., by the celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montagu; in 1737, he was appointed one of the lords of the bed-chamber to Frederick, Prince of Wales, and in 1756, groom of the stole to George, Prince of Wales; an office which he continued to hold on that prince's accession to the throne. In 1761, he was made one of the secretaries of state; in June, ranger of Richmond Park; in August, chancellor of the university of Aberdeen, and one of the governors of the Charter house. In May 1762, he was constituted first lord of the treasury, which he resigned in April following, and in September was installed one of the knights of the garter. He died in 1792, at the age of seventy-nine. The person and manner of the Earl of Bute are thus described, in 1757, by Lord Waldegrave, who preceded him in the office of groom of the stole to the Prince of Wales:—"He has a good person, fine legs, and a theatrical air of the greatest importance. There is an extraordinary appearance of wisdom, both in his look

and Princess⁽¹⁾, to assure you of their being most sensible to the zeal and activity you have shown, in a business concerning them so nearly. May success attend it, equal to all our good intentions! Prince Edward wanted to know of me, if he ought to thank the King. I should be glad of your opinion on this subject; for I am not sure but his Majesty may take some method of his own to notify it to him. I have desired him not to speak of it till he hears farther from me; so the sooner

and manner of speaking; for whether the subject be serious or trifling, he is equally pompous, slow, and sententious. Not contented with being wise, he would be thought a polite scholar, and a man of great erudition, but he has the misfortune never to succeed, except with those who are exceedingly ignorant; for his historical knowledge is chiefly taken from tragedies, wherein he is very deeply read, and his classical learning extends no further than a French translation. Frederick, Prince of Wales, used frequently to say that Bute was a fine showy man, who would make an excellent ambassador in a court where there was no business. Such was his Royal Highness's opinion of the noble earl's political abilities; but the sagacity of the princess dowager has discovered other accomplishments, of which the prince her husband may not perhaps have been the most competent judge." — *Memoirs*, p. 38.

(1) "On the 31st of May, Lord Waldegrave, as the last act of his office of governor, was sent with letters to the Prince and to his mother, to acquaint them, that the Prince being now of age, the King had determined to give him 40,000*l.* a year, would settle an establishment for him, of the particulars of which he should be informed, and that his Majesty had ordered the apartments of the late Prince at Kensington, and of the Queen at St. James's, to be fitted up for him; that he would take Prince Edward too, and give him an allowance of 5000*l.* a year." — *Walpole's George II.*, vol. ii. p. 50.

you can let me hear from you to-morrow on this subject the better.

I ever am, my dearest friend,
most affectionately yours, &c.

BUTE.

Thursday evening.

THOMAS POTTER, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Bath, June 4, 1756

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE an opportunity of having this delivered by a safe hand to my wife, to whom my directions are to give it to Dr. Ayscough ⁽¹⁾, or to Sir Richard Lyttelton, that it may be conveyed safely to you.

On my first arrival here, and indeed in several visits during the course of the winter in London, I was, at every opportunity, entertained by a reverend friend of mine ⁽²⁾, with the highest encomiums and panegyrics on the virtue and abilities of Mr. Pitt, of the necessity government had of such men, and of the public misfortune, that *all* the able men were not joined together as they ought to be. This was the subject of many conversations, in which my part was as general as possible. When he left this country he put into my hands one of his books,

(1) Dr. Francis Ayscough, tutor to the Prince of Wales; in 1761, appointed dean of Bristol.

(2) Dr. Stone, archbishop of Armagh.

desiring me to make it acceptable to Mr. Pitt, and hoping (with prodigious humility), that he should be recommended to him by it, from the pains he had taken in the service of Christianity.

Upon the death of the chief justice ⁽¹⁾, the intelligence he sent was, that all the attorney-general's ⁽²⁾ private friends thought the office on every account so fit for him, that it would be infatuation to decline it; and that the attorney himself was of the same opinion, but the Duke of Newcastle was frightened at the thoughts of what was to become of the House of Commons. In one letter, there were these particular words: —

“The disposition of the chief justice, and the solicitor-general (*to Charles Yorke*) will, I verily believe, be as I mentioned; though as yet nothing is fixed. If the first of these promotions takes place, Mr. Pitt will be invited in; for they have no notion that the loss can be repaired any other way. Then, to be sure, the chancellor of the exchequer ⁽³⁾ goes out, and something will be found for the noble

⁽¹⁾ Sir Dudley Ryder, chief justice of the court of King's Bench, died May the 25th. On the preceeding day, he was to have kissed hands on being raised to the peerage, by the title of Baron Ryder of Harrowby, but his indisposition prevented his attendance.

⁽²⁾ The Hon. William Murray, attorney-general. In November, he was made lord chief justice of the king's bench. At the same time he was created Baron Mansfield, and, in 1776, Earl of Mansfield. He retired from his high office in 1788, at the advanced age of eighty-four, and died in 1793.

⁽³⁾ Sir George Lyttelton.

secretary⁽¹⁾; — a blue riband is found for him already.”

Charles Yorke⁽²⁾, who has long had a wish to quit the profession, has taken advantage of this opportunity, and has sternly insisted with his father, that unless he makes him solicitor-general, now he will immediately pull off his gown. The chancellor yields, and has promised either to make him solicitor, or to consent that he shall quit the profession, and be a lord of the admiralty. I think I know which side of the alternative the chancellor will take. On Murray's leaving the bar, and Charles Yorke's becoming solicitor-general, he would get at least 4000*l.* per annum. The chancellor will compute how much that exceeds the salary of a lord of the admiralty, and the vices of the family will probably operate, so as to keep poor Charles in the only train in which he can be of any consequence.

I thought it was fit you should know what were the dispositions of the Duke of Newcastle. This man has it from the fountain head. As to the part you will act, if an opening is made to you, it becomes me to leave it to yourself; but permit me

(1) The Earl of Holderness.

(2) The Hon. Charles Yorke, second son of lord chancellor Hardwicke. In November he became solicitor-general, and in 1761, attorney-general. In January 1770, he was nominated lord chancellor, and a patent was preparing, creating him a peer, by the title of Baron Morden, but he died suddenly, at the age of forty-eight.

to make two observations :—That the fright of the Duke of Newcastle, like the rest of his frights, proceeds from his ignorance : such is the temper of the House of Commons, that if the whole business rested on Sir George Lyttelton and Lord Duplin (¹), the debates on the court side would be shorter, but there would not be a single vote less. —The next is a mortifying consideration :—That whatever sacrifices have been made to opinion, the reputation of those who made them is increased in the minds only of a few. Hanover treaties and Hanover troops are popular throughout every country. The almost universal language is, opposition must be wrong, when we are ready to be eat up by the French.

(¹) Thomas Hay, Viscount Duplin, afterwards eighth earl of Kinnoul. He represented the town of Cambridge in three parliaments. He was at this time joint paymaster of the forces. In 1758, he was declared chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and a member of the privy-council ; and in 1759 was sent ambassador-extraordinary to the court of Portugal. On the accession of George III. he was continued in the office of chancellor of the duchy ; which he resigned in 1762. The remainder of his life was chiefly spent at his seat in Scotland, where he amused himself with planting, and other rural improvements. “I was delighted,” says Mrs. Montague, who visited him in 1770, “to find an old friend enjoying that heart-felt happiness, which attends a life of virtue. He is continually employed in encouraging agriculture and manufactures ; protecting the weak from injury, assisting the distressed, and animating the young to whatever is most fit and proper. He appears more happy than when he was whirled about in the vortex of the Duke of Newcastle.” He died in 1787, at the age of seventy-seven.

There was an imagination here, that Parker ⁽¹⁾ would be made chief justice, and Henley ⁽²⁾ (who, by the bye, has never had his name mentioned in London for any thing), chief baron. I felt our friend on the occasion, and found him staunch and firm : but I had done a little more ; I had detached a Tory common councilman from all those who were likely to be candidates, and had brought him to hold that language of you, as that the moment your name had been proposed, he must have embraced your interest with eagerness. But it rests there.

I have no more to add on business ; and indeed my strength scarce supports me to write so much. Since I troubled you last, I have narrowly escaped sinking under repeated attacks of gout in my stomach, lungs, &c., where good Dr. Duncan had been so kind as to throw it. I am to pass, I believe, the summer here ; for I have not an idea when I can be able to quit Bath. May you and Lady Hester enjoy all the happiness that health gives.

Your faithful friend, and devoted

humble servant,

THOMAS POTTER.

(1) Sir Thomas Parker, at this time chief baron of the exchequer.

(2) Robert Henley, Esq. In November, he was appointed attorney-general, and received the honour of knighthood ; in 1757, lord-keeper ; in 1760, created Baron Henley ; in 1761, constituted lord chancellor ; and in 1764, advanced to the dignity of Earl of Northington. He died in 1772.

THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE GRENVILLE TO MR. PITT.

Wotton, June 7, 1756.

MY DEAR PITT,

I RECEIVED the first intelligence of the bad news⁽¹⁾ you sent me from Lord Temple, the post before; but as he did not mention the circumstance of M. Galissonière's return to his station before Mahon, and of Mr. Byng's to Gibraltar (which, in the present situation, are decisive), I still flattered myself with a better account, as I could not believe that an officer of his rank or of his name would be so forgetful of what he owed to both; for though I doubt very much of his being superior, or even equal in force to the French fleet, if it consisted of twelve ships of the line, as two out of his thirteen are only fifty-gun ships, which are seldom put into the line against very large ships, yet the inferiority must have been greater than it appears to have been, to justify a retreat, after so faint an attempt as this is represented.

But, however the case may be with regard to him, what can be the excuse for sending a force, which at the utmost is scarcely equal to the enemy, upon so important and decisive an expedition? Though in the venality of this hour, it may be deemed sufficient to throw the whole blame upon Byng, yet I will venture to say, the other is a question that, in the judgment of every impartial

(1) The engagement between Admiral Byng and M. Galissonière, off Minorca, on the 23d of May.

man, now and hereafter, will require a better answer than, I am afraid, can be given to it. Whatever faults Byng may have, I believe he was not reckoned backward in point of personal courage ; which makes this affair the more extraordinary, and induces me to wait for his own account of it, before I form an opinion of it.

The scene, indeed, is a most melancholy, if not a desperate one ; but if effects follow their causes, surely we have no reason to be surprised at the ruin that hangs over our heads. For my own part, I turn my thoughts and my eyes to more pleasing prospects. The bridge is getting up by degrees, the oaks are coming out, the grass is growing with the rains ; and yet, every now and then, an unpleasant reflection will come across me, and I ask myself,

“*Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit ?
Barbaras has segetes ?*”⁽¹⁾

Are we to have the Russians and the Cossacks here ? Methinks the present state will afford a fine subject for our poetical cousin ⁽²⁾ to make a panegyric in verse, as he has done in prose, upon the great names that have brought us into it. I was reading, two or three days ago, the short sketch Horace gives of the state of the Roman government under Augustus, and compared it with that you have drawn for me : —

(1) “ Did we for these barbarians plant and sow ?
On these, on these, our happy fields bestow ? ”

Dryden's Virgil.

(2) Sir George Lyttelton.

“ Ne tamen ignores quo sit Romana loco res ;
 Cantaber Agrippæ, Claudî virtute Neronis
 Armenius cecidit. Jus imperiumque Phraates
 Cæsaris accepit genibus minor. Aurea fruges
 Italiæ pleno diffudit copia cornu.” (1)

Would not this be a good model for a panegyric at present? I wish we may ever see the day it may be applied with truth. Lord Temple has given us hopes of calling here in his way to Stowe, but says his motions are uncertain. My wife⁽²⁾ tells me, that she has sent you a full account of us all, great and small, a few posts ago. Poppy boy desires to have “the pleasure” of corresponding with Lady Hester himself by the enclosed note. What therefore remains for me, but to rejoice with you on our private happiness amidst the public misfortunes, to congratulate you, and, let me add, the public too, on your continuing so well, to return you a thousand thanks for your kind attention in writing to me when any thing very extraordinary happens, and to assure you that I am ever,

Your most affectionate brother,

GEORGE GRENVILLE.

- (1) “ Now condescend to hear the public news :
 Agrippa’s war the sons of Spain subdues.
 The fierce Armenian Nero’s virtue feels :
 Short by the knees the haughty Parthian kneels :
 Again the monarch is by Cæsar crown’d,
 And plenty pours her golden harvest round.”

Francis’s Horace.

(2) Mr. George Grenville married, in 1749, Elizabeth, sister of Charles, Earl of Egremont, and daughter of Sir William Wyndham, Bart. She died at Wotton, in 1769.

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY BILSON LEGGE TO
MR. PITT.

Holte Forest, June 16, 1756.

DEAR PITT,

WE have often talked together, and with Lord Bute, concerning lawyers of the second form, but as I remember, the name of Moreton⁽¹⁾ was never mentioned amongst us. For my own part, I rather suspected he was gone, or going over to the enemy, as I had heard that offers were made, and strong solicitations used to gain him. Two or three days ago, I received a message from him by Martin⁽²⁾, to desire I would use what interest I could, to get him recommended for solicitor-general to the Princess of Wales, in case a vacancy should happen. At the same time I was informed, that the Duke of Newcastle had offered him a silk gown, and made strong love to him, during all the last winter, by the procuration of Hume Campbell⁽³⁾; but that he had flatly refused the offer, and all connexion with his Grace, and maintained his chastity untainted, with a degree of spirit and virtue

(1) Sir William Moreton, recorder of London, and member for Brackley. He died in 1763.

(2) Samuel Martin, Esq., at this time member for Camelford; and in the following November, appointed secretary to the treasury, under Mr. Legge.

(3) The Hon. Alexander Hume Campbell, twin brother to Hugh, Earl of Marchmont, at this time member for Berwickshire, and lord register of Scotland. He died in 1760.

capable of sending Hume to the cart's tail for the attempt.

This behaviour certainly ought to recommend him. I have, therefore, wrote to Lord Bute, stated the case, and desired him to confer with you upon the subject. Pray, what think you of him? Sure, he is as good as Henley or Charles Yorke any day in the week; and if Pratt⁽¹⁾ is attorney (which I trust will certainly be) and Moreton solicitor, we shall out-lawyer them upon the whole, notwithstanding the enemy are possessed of the grand magazine of legal preferments.

Though I lead a life here of much tranquillity, and entirely released *miserâ ambitione gravique*, I can't help being very solicitous to know a little of what passes in town, and find that curiosity is a passion (if it be worthy of that name) harder to subdue than ambition. If you should think advisable to give me any hint, I should imagine a letter enclosed to my wife (²), directed by any hand

(¹) Charles Pratt, Esq., in 1759 chosen recorder of Bath, and appointed attorney-general; in 1761, constituted chief-justice of the court of common pleas; in 1765, created Baron Camden, of Camden Place, Kent; and in 1766, appointed lord high chancellor; from which office he was removed in 1770. In 1784, he was constituted lord president of the council; in 1786, advanced to the dignities of Viscount Bayham and Earl of Camden; and died April 18, 1794.

(²) Mr. Legge married in 1750, Mary, daughter of Edward, fourth Lord Stawell; who, in 1760, was created Baroness Stawell. In 1768, her ladyship re-married to the Earl of Hillsborough, afterwards Marquis of Downshire, and died in 1780.

but your own, and not franked, might escape the curiosity of the post-office. I shall send this enclosed to Pratt, and desire him to convey it to you.

I rejoice most heartily with you upon the part I hear West (1) acted, in the late Mediterranean skirmish. Martin tells me, there is a letter arrived from Lord Bristol at Turin, which speaks highly of his behaviour, and ascribes the preservation of the fleet to his bravery and conduct. I hope it is true to a greater extent than we yet know, and that you and your friends may prosper, both by sea and land, and, if it won't sound like praying for my own success after this, that I may ever be of the number. Our best compliments to Lady Hester.

I am, dear Pitt,

ever faithfully yours,

H. B. LEGGE.

(1) Rear-admiral Temple West, second in command under Admiral Byng. He was the friend of Mr. Pitt, and a relation of the Grenvilles. His behaviour on this distressing occasion is acknowledged, on all hands, to have been most gallant. On being carried to court by Lord Anson, the King said to him, "I am glad to hear you have done your duty so well; I wish every body else had!" In November, he was made a lord of the admiralty; and died in August following.

THE EARL OF BUTE TO MR. PITT.

Kew, [July 15, 1756.]

MY WORTHY FRIEND,

I THIS minute learn the event of yesterday, relative to the letter his Royal Highness sent on Friday to the King. The Prince was unwilling it should be mentioned to any body, out of respect to his Majesty, till he himself should take notice of it. I now hear the Duke of Newcastle was consulted before Lord Pembroke ⁽¹⁾ was sent for to receive the answer, but that it was kept a profound secret from you, and every other person, till yesterday. This annoys me, for I depended on your knowing it by another channel. I wish the Prince's patience may hold out, in these reiterated scenes of neglect. He has been in the greatest anxiety for this week past, and with difficulty deferred waiting on his Majesty in person.

I enclose a copy of the letter, in case it has not reached you, but desire it may be returned me by the servant. I hope it will be thought full of duty and respect; but the more it is so, the more I fear the consequences of a refusal. I do not in the least doubt but my worthy friend will see the propriety, I had almost said necessity, of indulging his Royal Highness in so noble, so reasonable a request, and

(1) Henry Herbert, tenth Earl of Pembroke. In November he was appointed one of the lords of the bedchamber to the Prince of Wales.

that he will, as far as the situation of his circumstances permit, endeavour to procure it a favourable answer.

I am with the greatest regard, dear Sir,
your most affectionate
and humble servant

BUTE. ⁽¹⁾

Thursday night.

THE EARL OF BUTE TO MR. PITT.

Leicester House, [July 20, 1756.]

LORD BUTE presents his compliments to Mr. Pitt, and in case he should be prevented from waiting

(1) "July 7th, the attack on Leicester House was renewed. A cabinet council was held to consider a message which Newcastle and the chancellor proposed should be sent in his Majesty's name to the Prince, to know if he adhered to living with his mother, and to the demand of having Lord Butc for the groom of the stole. Mr. Fox asked, if the Prince had ever made such a demand? 'Oh! yes,' said Newcastle. 'By whom?' asked Fox. Newcastle — 'Oh! by Munchausen and others!' Accordingly, a second message was sent by Lord Waldegrave. The Prince answered in writing, 'that since the King did him the honour to ask him the question, he did hope to have leave to continue with his mother, as her happiness so much depended on it: for the other point, he had never directly asked it; yet since encouraged, he would explain himself, and from the long knowledge and good opinion he had of Lord Butc, he did desire to have him about his person.' The determination of the council was put off to a future day." — *Walpole's George II.* vol. ii. p. 61.

on him as he intends, gives him the trouble of this note. He is amazed at the Duke's proposition, after the conversation he had with him, at Mr. Pitt's. He thought he had then fully explained the Prince's ideas : he must at present, by his Royal Highness's order, state them once again.

The Prince would esteem it as a great mark of his Majesty's tenderness to him, if he will permit him to have the free choice of his servants, whenever there shall have occurred (as at present) vacancies in his family. He thinks his age, his conduct, the King's goodness, all give him reason to hope for this condescension. Should it prove otherwise, the Prince, full of duty to his Majesty, submits to whatever nomination he shall appoint.

Lord Bute flatters himself Mr. Pitt will perceive how inconsistent the smallest hint of the Prince's wishes would be with the free choice he meets from his Majesty's indulgence. It would, undoubtedly, be counteracting his own desires, nay, fixed resolutions, that all tend strongly to the removal of a principle, which subjects him to a harder fate than any man in this kingdom ; therefore, the alteration of that principle was the business to be attempted by the Duke, and not the procuring this or that office. The one puts the Prince on a level with other people ; the other sinks him to a poor petitioner. ⁽¹⁾

Tuesday night, 12 o'clock.

(1) " At these cabinet councils, the Duke of Newcastle gave his opinion, that the King would never suffer Lord Bute to be

MR. PITT TO THOMAS PITT, ESQ.

Hayes, October 7, 1756.

I THINK it very long since I heard any thing of my dear nephew's health, and learned occupations at the mother of arts and sciences. Pray give me the pleasure of a letter soon, and be so good as to let me know what progress is made in our plan of reading. I am now to make a request to you in behalf of a young gentleman coming to Cambridge, Mr. Potter's son. The father desires much that you

groom of the stole ; but that something might be done for him, in some other shape. When it was my turn to speak, I told them I was fully convinced, that Leicester House would never be contented unless their request was granted in its full extent. During the whole summer, there were several consultations on the subject : frequent letters and messages passed between Kew and Kensington ; but instead of any agreement, the breach was daily growing wider ; when at last, about the beginning of October, the ministers, not daring to meet the parliament, whilst Leicester House was dissatisfied, obtained the King's consent, that the Prince of Wales should not remove to Kensington, but should still continue with his mother ; and that Bute should be groom of the stole, at the head of the new establishment. I received his Majesty's commands to send letters of notification to the Prince's new servants, and introduced them at Kensington. The King could not be persuaded to look kindly on the new groom of the stole, neither would he admit him into the closet, to receive the badge of his office ; but gave it to the Duke of Grafton, who slipt the gold key into Bute's pocket, wished it could have been given in a more proper manner, but prudently advised him to take no notice." — *Waldegrave's Memoirs*, p. 67.

and his son may make an acquaintance — as what father would not? Mr. Potter is one of the best friends I have in the world, and nothing can oblige me more than that you would do all in your power to be of assistance and advantage to the young man. He has good parts, good nature, and amiable qualities. He is young, and consequently much depends on the first habits he forms, whether of application or dissipation.

You see, my dear nephew, what it is already to have made yourself *princeps juventutis*. It has its glories and its cares. You are invested with a kind of public charge, and the eyes of the world are upon you, not only for your own acquittal, but for the example and pattern to the British youth. Lady Hester is still about, but in daily expectation of the good minute. She desires her compliments to you. My sister is gone to Howberry.

Believe me ever, my dear nephew,
most affectionately yours,

W. PITT

MR. PITT TO THOMAS PITT, ESQ.

Hayes, October 10, 1756.

DEAR NEPHEW,

I HAVE the pleasure to acquaint you with the glad tidings of Hayes. Lady Hester was safely delivered this morning of a son. ⁽¹⁾ She and the

(1) John, afterwards second Earl of Chatham.

child are as well as possible, and the father in the joy of his heart. It is no small addition to my happiness to know you will kindly share it with me. A father must form wishes for his child as soon as it comes into the world, and I will make mine, — that he may live to make as good use of life, as one that shall be nameless is now doing at Cambridge.

Quid voveat majus matricule dulcis alumno ? (1)

Your ever affectionate

W. PITT.

THOMAS PITT, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Clare Hall, October 12, 1756.

MY DEAR UNCLE,

I HAVE just received a message from the master of Emanuel, to sup with Mr. Potter at his lodge ; so that your letter came in very good time to apprise me of the honour he intends me, in introducing me to his son's acquaintance. I am happy in having an opportunity of expressing the readiness I always bear about me, of doing you pleasure ; but I am particularly flattered with this fresh mark of your esteem, and the opinion you have of me. To say the truth, I do not doubt, I

(1) " Can a fond nurse one blessing more,
E'en for her favourite boy implore ? "

Francis's Horace.

may be of service to a young man at his first coming to the University, if he chooses to have any reliance upon me ; but I know, by the experience of our good cousin, how ineffectual all advice is to one who is disposed to other counsellors. I am sorry, for many reasons, that they have sent him to Emanuel : it has many disadvantages, and few excellences that I know of ; however, we must make the best of it as it is, and as you say he is of a tractable disposition, I do not doubt his doing extremely well.

As to what you say in general of my being an example for young men to follow, I know you speak of me as your affection wishes me to be ; but, my dear uncle, I feel how difficult such a behaviour must be. I know my own faults and imperfections too well to suffer me to think of such a charge ; and, indeed, with all the youthiness I have about me, I shall think myself extremely happy, if I can acquit myself to my own conscience, and to you. I flatter myself I have made a better use of my time hitherto, than most people of my age ; and though I meet with many who have a greater depth of learning, I find myself their equal in useful knowledge. Notwithstanding all this, I cannot give myself much applause for it ; for I believe there are few who would have profited so little of so good a tutor. Besides this, I perceive my memory so extremely treacherous and weak, that I retain nothing distinctly of what I read, and am therefore much slower in gaining and much more

imperfect in retaining, whatever I attack. Do not think by this I am tired in the race, or that my ambition flags. I assure you I am too much your nephew to give up the cause so faintly. I mention this only to inform you truly of what materials you are to make your Mercury, and I do not in the least despair that your hammer will by degrees form the block into shape, and bring it to an excellent work.

I have made great search in the libraries of the University, but have not been able to find either Vitriarius or Mozambano.⁽¹⁾ I have expected them from London with as little success, and must therefore desire you to send them to me, if you can meet with them, for I understand they are very scarce; I have, in the meanwhile, employed myself this summer in learning Italian, in which I hope soon to make some progress. I have likewise finished that heavy task of Rushworth's Collections, together with Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of Europe. I have read Hotman's Franco-Gallia too⁽²⁾, I believe, since I wrote last, and some

(1) Severenus di Mozambano was the *pseudonyme* under which Puffendorf published his treatise, "De Statu Imperii, liber unus," in 1667. The design was to prove that Germany was a kind of republic, the constituent members of which being ill-proportioned, formed a monstrous whole. The book was, in consequence, prohibited, and burnt by the common hangman. A translation into English by Edward Bohun appeared in 1698.

(2) A translation of this work into English, by Lord Molesworth, under the title of, "Franco-Gallia; or, An Account of the ancient Free State of France and other parts of Europe upon the Loss of their Liberties," appeared in 1715.

of Davenant's⁽¹⁾ Essays. I should have read more if I had not been obliged to make a little excursion from Cambridge, which I had put off, from time to time, for these three years, and till I had almost given offence.

Give my compliments to Lady Hester, if you please, and tell her I hope she will soon rejoice that a man is born into the world.

I am, dear uncle,

Your most affectionate nephew,

THOMAS PITT.

THOMAS PITT, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Clare Hall, October 13, 1756.

DEAREST UNCLE,

I WILL not lose a moment's time without assuring you how much I partake in your joy. Tell Lady Hester that I thank her over and over again for the inestimable present she has made us; a present so acceptable, that it would have endeared her to us still more, were it possible for us to receive an addition to our happiness in her. You know I should find myself sufficiently interested in any event that gave you satisfaction; but upon the present occasion, I forget the pleasure you receive

(2) Dr. Charles Davenant, son of Sir William Davenant. An edition of the political and commercial works of this celebrated writer, collected and revised by Sir Charles Witworth, appeared in 1771, in five volumes quarto.

as a father, and feel too much joy myself in this accession to our family to think of any thing else.

Believe me, my dear uncle, it shall be always the pride as well as delight of my life, to repay to your little representative the obligations I owe to your goodness; and when, in the course of things, you shall be no more seen, depend upon it, your son shall find in me all the supply I can afford to his loss, in the duties of a father, a brother, and a friend.

Your most affectionate nephew,

T. PITT.

THOMAS POTTER, ESQ., TO MR. PITT.

October 17, 1756.

DEAR SIR,

IN all my conversations, and in some with people of and near the court, nothing seems more believed than that proposals will be made to you. It is not only said, that the Lord Chancellor and the Duke of Newcastle are convinced they cannot go on without you, but that Majesty itself shudders in its closet, and will throw itself into the arms of those who can promise him quiet and relief; that Mr. Fox has no favour; that his close connection with the Duke of Cumberland represents him as an object of jealousy; and that to make such a man minister, would be for the King to be governed by his son; that the only fear of you is your connection with Leicester House, but that this is an evil the

least feared at present ; that the first offices should be at your disposal, and real power put into your hands ; that you should take the treasury yourself. ⁽¹⁾

I am told that my intelligence as to the express sent to Hampshire was true, but that it did not go from Lincoln's Inn Fields but from Leicester Fields, and that a cabal is publicly talked of, in which you are no party. All this is to be read like the Daily Advertiser, for I am sure of nothing ; and yet, as the newspaper says sometimes, they are advices from persons of distinction. However, I am certain that the man does not breathe who is more sincerely, though so very fruitlessly,

Your faithful, and affectionate friend,

THOMAS POTTER.

P. S. If any thing should take place, think on Pratt for attorney. If you have the lead in the House of Commons 'tis fit you should have at your elbow a lawyer of your own. He may be brought into parliament in the room of the present attorney, or for Lord Feversham's borough of Downton. Nothing would vex or lower the insolence of the Lord Chancellor more, and it would bring away the dependence of Westminster Hall.

(1) "On the 2nd of October, I had a note from Mr. Fox, that things went ill, and I dined with him on the 14th, when he appeared to be in an extraordinary perturbation. On the 19th, Mr. Pitt was sent for to town, and came. He returned, rejecting all terms till the Duke of Newcastle was removed." — *Dodington's Diary*, p. 346.

SIR RICHARD LYTTTELTON ⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

[November 2, 1756.]

THE Duke of Bedford, the President ⁽²⁾, and Mr. Fox were all in the closet before the Duke of Devonshire ⁽³⁾ this morning. No wonder the King was out of humour. The Duke of Bedford's countenance was remarkably sullen before he went in, and as remarkably elated when he came out again.

The Duke of Devonshire was asked (I believe by Lord Waldegrave,) how his negotiation went on?

⁽¹⁾ Sir Richard Lyttelton, fifth son of Sir Thomas Lyttelton, of Hagley, and brother of Sir George, afterwards Lord Lyttelton. In 1753, he was installed knight of the Bath, and was at this time a colonel in the army, and member for Poole. A few days after this letter was written, he was appointed master of the jewel-office; a situation which he resigned in 1762, on being appointed captain-general and commander-in-chief of the island of Minorca. In 1766, he was made governor of Guernsey, &c., and died in 1770. In the park at Boconnoc, Lord Camelford, caused an obelisk to be raised, with this inscription:—"In gratitude and affection, to the Memory of Sir Richard Lyttelton, and to perpetuate the remembrance of that peculiar character of Benevolence which rendered him the Delight of his own Age, and worthy the veneration of Posterity, 1771."

⁽²⁾ Earl Granville.

⁽³⁾ William, fourth Duke of Devonshire, at this time lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and, on the 16th of this month, constituted first lord of the treasury. In 1757, he resigned his place in the treasury, and was appointed chamberlain of the household. In 1762, he relinquished his employments in England, but retained that of lord high treasurer of Ireland. He died at Spa, in 1764, in the forty-fourth year of his age.

Two other persons were present, one of whom (that is to say, the Duke of Bedford or Fox) had been in the closet; he answered, "I don't very well know, I think not so well as it did at first," and added, "as the *manner* grows softer the *matter* grows harder;" and this was said with a smile, and an air of intelligence towards the person before whom he said it.

But all this comes from Charles ⁽¹⁾, who staid three hours to get it out of Waldegrave. He seems to me to mean to render the Duke of Devonshire suspicious, and goes out of town to-morrow, not to return unless his brother ⁽²⁾ should send for him; professing support and attachment to you, but a *determination* not to accept any office (if things should take that turn, which he seems con-

(1) The Hon. Charles Townshend, second son of Charles, third Viscount Townshend, and member for Yarmouth. In 1754, he was appointed a lord of the admiralty; in 1756, treasurer of the chamber, and member of the privy-council; in 1761, secretary at war; in 1763, first lord of trade and the plantations; in 1765, paymaster-general; and in 1766, chancellor of the exchequer, and one of the lords of the treasury; which post he continued to hold until his death, in September 1767, at the early age of forty-two.

(2) The Hon. George Townshend, afterwards fourth Viscount and first Marquis Townshend. He had served under George II. at the battle of Dettingen, and also at the battles of Fontenoy, Culloden, and Laffeldt. In 1759, at the memorable siege of Quebec, he became commander-in-chief after the death of Wolfe. He succeeded to the peerage in 1764; was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1767; and master-general of the ordnance in 1772, and again in 1783. He died in 1807, in his eighty-fourth year.

vinced they will not) that is not an office of business; and represents his conversation with you this morning as explicitly left upon that footing, for your guidance with the Duke of Devonshire. He says the Hanoverians are ordered home; that the order is gone for it, unless the conversations in the closet this morning have recalled that order. He says, Fox has altered his style of talking, and that Waldegrave says the appearance to day was, that old faces were growing again into more favour than new. In short, it appears to me, that he does not like his situation in the arrangement; is determined his brother shall not like it, either for him or for himself; and hopes by holding back and intimidating you from undertaking, to get a higher thing, treasurer of the navy at least, six weeks hence.

I beg pardon for troubling you with what he says; but if you take rhubarb again to-morrow this intelligence may not be absolutely useless. ⁽¹⁾

Cavendish Square, Tuesday, night, 12 o'clock.

(1) "October 27. The King sent for Fox, acquainted him that Newcastle would retire, and asked him if Pitt would join with him; bade him try. Fox the next day went to the Prince's levee, and taking Pitt apart at the head of the stairs, said to him, 'Are you going to Stowe? I ask, because I believe you will have a message of consequence by persons of consequence.' 'You surprise me,' said Pitt; 'are you to be of the number?' Fox: 'I don't know.' Pitt: 'One likes to say things to men of sense, and of your great sense, rather than to others; and yet it is difficult even to you.' Fox: 'What! you mean you will not act with me as a minister?' Pitt: 'I do.' And then, to soften the abruptness of the declaration, left Fox with

THE RIGHT. HON. HENRY BILSON LEGGE
TO MR. PITT.

George Street, November 3, 1756.

DEAR PITT,

I AM very sorry I was not at home when you called, and the more so, as I wanted to tell you the very honourable part a friend of mine has acted. I told him the footing upon which I had put his being of the cabinet. His answer was "for God's sake, tell Mr. Pitt I desire nothing of this sort may be moved now ; it may exasperate a certain person's mind, so as to prevent the settlement's taking place, which would give me the utmost concern. If it could be done now, it may be done some time hence, and I shall refer it to you and your friend, when you shall be better acquainted with the circumstances of me and my office, to judge if I can possibly go on without it. I would not take it, when offered by a man I hate ; but I would by no means obtrude it now, to interfere and create difficulties in the adjusting of a plan I like, and which I think necessary for the preservation of the country."

saying, he hoped Fox would take an active part, which his health would not permit him to do. The next day the Duke of Devonshire was ordered by the King to try to compose some ministry, and by the same authority sent for Mr. Pitt ; at the same time, endeavouring to make him accommodate with Fox."

— *Walpole's George II.*, vol. ii. p. 97.

I have told this to B. to relate to you ; but could not help writing it to you, before I go into the country. I hope we shall both be suffered to remain there quietly ; for the more I contemplate the dangers we have escaped (and I hope we have escaped them), the more I prefer female judgment to my own. I am,

most affectionately yours,

H. B. LEGGE. (1)

(1) In a letter to Sir Horace Mann, written on the following day, Mr. Walpole says : — “ When Mr. Fox had declared his determination of resigning, great offers were sent to Mr. Pitt ; his demands were much greater, accompanied with a total exclusion of the Duke of Newcastle. Some of the latter’s friends would have persuaded him, as the House of Commons is at his devotion, to have undertaken the government against both Pitt and Fox ; but fears preponderated. The king sent for Mr. Fox, and bid him try if Mr. Pitt would join him. The latter without any hesitation refused. In this perplexity the king ordered the Duke of Devonshire to try to compose some ministry for him, and sent him to Pitt, to try to accommodate with Fox. Pitt, with a list of terms a little modified, was ready to engage, but on condition that Fox should have no employment in the cabinet. Upon this plan negotiations have been carrying on for this week. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge concluded they were entering on the government as secretary of state and chancellor of the exchequer ; but there is so great unwillingness to give it up totally into their hands, that all manner of expedients have been projected to get rid of their proposals, or to limit their power. Thus the case stands at this instant.” — Vol. iii. p. 154.

WILLIAM BECKFORD, ESQ. (1) TO MR. PITT.

Fonthill, November 6, 1756.

DEAR SIR,

LET my esteem and regard plead an excuse for the impertinence of this letter. The dismal accounts received, and the melancholy prospect of public affairs, make a change of men necessary; but as a change of measures only can save the nation, I hope and trust, as you can, so you will be the instrument of our deliverance. The rock on which all gentlemen have split, who have lately entered into administration, has been that they come in as subalterns, not trusted with the power of doing good, and without the least degree of trust or confidence from the cabinet; consequently, the old leaven, who were in possession of that trust and confidence, soon corrupted the whole mass, and matters returned to their former corrupted channel.

A new system is now absolutely necessary; which cannot be established without an almost total removal of those men, who have brought these miseries upon us. I have, during my whole life, acted as a private man. In the militia of Jamaica I was no more than a common soldier: in our pre-

(1) Mr. Beckford was at this time one of the members for the city of London; of which he became successively alderman, sheriff, and, on two occasions, lord mayor. He died in June, 1770.

sent political warfare, I intend to act as one of your private soldiers without commission; and be assured I will never desert the cause of liberty and my country, as long as the heart beats in the breast of,

Dear Sir,

your most obedient

and faithful servant,

WILLIAM BECKFORD.

EARL TEMPLE ⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Tuesday night, [November 9, 1756.]

MY DEAR PITT,

AT my return here I found Sir Richard and Jemmy ⁽²⁾ waiting for me to inform me of a very disagreeable scene which had passed the preceding day, betwixt them and the Townshends, in which Charles was a principal actor, which ended, however, very peaceably, and promises to go on still better, provided the place of cofferer can be procured for

(1) Richard Grenville, eldest son of Richard Grenville, of Wotton, Esq., by Hester Temple, daughter of Sir Richard Temple, of Stowe, Bart., created, in 1749, Countess Temple. On the death of his mother in 1752, he succeeded to the title. From 1734 until he succeeded to the peerage, he represented the town of Buckingham in parliament. A few days after this letter was written, he was appointed first lord of the Admiralty, and in 1757, keeper of the privy seal, which office he resigned in October, 1761. His lordship died at Stowe, in September, 1779.

(2) Sir Richard Lyttelton and Mr. James Grenville.

Charles. This is now made by them (the Townshends) a *sine quâ non*, and reclaimed as a promise, the breach of which is to be deemed a violation of our private honour. There is great discontent, too, hanging about the friends, real or pretended, of Lord Pulteney (¹), under an idea that he is very ill used, if not taken care of in this arrangement. If the cofferer's place can be obtained, the Townshends are to be most friendly, &c.

Under these impressions, I immediately went to the Duke of Devonshire, and stated these parts to him in their full strength, and in such a manner as did not in the least seem to hurt him. He dreads the attempt of removing the Duke of Leeds (²), &c., but will send for Duplin in the morning, and try with him and by him, to arrange something that may answer our purpose, if possible. He told me that this morning the Duke of Newcastle had been in with the King a considerable time; that the Duke of Devonshire found the King ruffled; that he had only patience to cast his eye over one page of the Duke of Devonshire's list; that he objected, in the strongest manner, to the promotion

(¹) William Pulteney, the great political antagonist of Sir Robert Walpole; upon whose resignation, in 1741, he declined to take any share in the new administration, but, in the following year, he was created Viscount Pulteney and Earl of Bath. He died in 1764.

(²) Thomas Osborne, fourth Duke of Leeds, had been appointed cofferer of the household in January. On the accession of George III., he was constituted chief justice-in-eyre north of Trent, and died in 1789.

of Potter, as a thing unheard of at the first step in his service, &c.

Ellis ⁽¹⁾ the King will not make secretary of war, preferring Barrington ⁽²⁾; consequently, there is no vacancy for Potter, but by a new destination of one of the glorious triumvirate. The jewel-office is opened by Lord Breadalbane's ⁽³⁾ going to chief justice-in-eyre. Sir Richard Lyttelton's name stands for that; but Sir Richard does not like it by any means, as it is not a place of particular dignity, nor of much profit. Lord Bateman ⁽⁴⁾ and Dick Edgcumbe ⁽⁵⁾, the two staves; upon which I

(1) Welbore Ellis, son of the Right Rev. Welbore Ellis, Bishop of Meath. He executed the duties of several high official employments between 1749 and 1783, when he retired from public life. He was created Baron Mendip in 1794, and died in 1802, at the age of eighty-nine.

(2) William Windham, second Viscount Barrington, in 1746 a lord of the admiralty; in 1754, master of the wardrobe; in 1755, secretary at war; in 1757, chancellor of the exchequer; in 1762, treasurer of the navy; and in 1765 again secretary at war. He died in 1793, in his seventy-sixth year.

(3) Richard, third Earl of Breadalbane, in 1754 elected one of the sixteen Scotch peers to the British parliament. He died in 1782.

(4) John, second Viscount Bateman, at this time member for Woodstock. In December, he was made a lord of the admiralty; in 1756, treasurer of the household; and in 1757, master of the buck-hounds. He died in 1802.

(5) The Hon. Richard Edgcumbe, eldest son of Lord Edgcumbe, at this time member for Penryn. In December he was appointed a lord of the admiralty, and in the following November, comptroller of the household. In 1758, he succeeded his father as second Lord Edgcumbe, and died in 1761. His lordship was a first-rate draughtsman, as the prints of the arms of the two clubs at Arthur's, and that of Mary Squires, who

offered to Sir Richard to renew his pretensions to comptroller; but that he declines, from an impossibility of going through the courtly attendance. He points at Lord Hillsborough's office, whom the King will not make a peer ⁽¹⁾, to the reversion of Dodington's Irish office, or in short to any thing or nothing, in the kindest and most obliging manner; but he thinks the jewel-office, being better than the admiralty, may be agreeable, and would suit very well, for Jack Pitt. Half the pay-office is open at our disposal. If conferrer cannot be vacated, and that they would put George Grenville to the pay-office, providing for Duplin, treasurer of the navy would open, and I suppose still better satisfy Charles. What is to be done concerning Potter? You must tell me.

was tried for stripping Elizabeth Canning, testify. Some specimens of his poetry are preserved in the New Foundling Hospital for Wit, where he is characterised as "a man of fine parts, great knowledge, and original wit; but one who was unhappily a man of pleasure, and left to his gay associates a most affecting example, how health, fame, ambition, and every thing that may be laudable in principle or in practice, are drawn into and absorbed by that most destructive of all whirlpools, gaming."

(1) On the 20th of November, Lord Hillsborough was created a British peer by the title of Baron Harwich; in 1772, a viscount and earl by the title of Viscount Fairford and Earl of Hillsborough; and in 1789, advanced to the title of Marquis of Downshire, in Ireland. In 1763, he was constituted first lord of trade and the plantations; in 1766, joint postmaster-general; and in 1768, and again in 1779, secretary of state for the colonies. He died in 1793.

Treasurer of the chamber I suppose might do ; but then there is no cloth left for Duplin's coat, nor for Sir Richard's, unless we can procure that same reversion.

On Thursday the Duke is to see the King again. Legge tells me his Grace has spoken pretty firmly, and will do it more so, if necessary ; but how all this is to be arranged I scarce see, without much disagreeable explanation. I wish to God your fertile brain was not confined in bed. Let Lady Hester write me your thoughts concerning the Townshends, who I hear go to you, and Lord Pulteney, &c. Enter the great and kind Jemmy ; who will bring you this letter, and to me your answer, &c.

Adieu. For God's sake get well.

TEMPLE.

EARL TEMPLE TO MR. PITT.

[Endorsed, "On terms for coming into administration."]

Twelve at night, Thursday. [Nov. 11, 1756.]

MY DEAR PITT,

AFTER a long consultation had on Wednesday night with our friends, in consequence of the unpromising reception we all met with at court (¹),

(¹) At the levee, on the King's birth-day ; who had completed his seventy-third year.

male and female, joined to mangling our list, and other untoward appearances, it was determined that I should this morning wait upon the Duke of Devonshire, to acquaint him that our situation was now grown so very delicate and so very unpromising, that I no longer found myself at liberty to proceed a step further; that I had only been commissioned by you to deliver a message to his Grace, which I thought would have proved very acceptable to the King; but that my expectations having been entirely frustrated in that particular, every thing since taking a more ungracious aspect, I now found myself under the necessity of entreating his Grace to apply directly to you, in whose hands the treaty still was, with whom it had been begun, and by whom it ought to be concluded.

Lord Bute went with me, and followed this up by expressions so transcendantly obliging to us, and so decisive of the determined purposes of Leicester House towards us in the present or any future day, that your own lively imagination cannot suggest to you a wish beyond them. Legge was there likewise, and we three were unanimous. The Duke of Devonshire seemed to feel and admit the force of all we said; hoped, however, that he should be able to improve for us our court situation, and begged that we would not refuse ourselves to government at this conjuncture. He then drew out the list he will show you, which he declared to be all he could flatter himself to be able to carry with the King. I read him your letter, and, after making

many animadversions upon it, I told him I could not, in any particular, take upon me to relax in any of your demands, which I thought so reasonable, &c. He pressed much the necessity of coming to some resolution ; the Duke of Newcastle intending to resign this day. I told him he must look upon that list only as his own, and that the whole and every part must be referred to you, &c., as before. The great difficulty of the cofferer subsisting, Lord Bute took upon himself to go to Mr. Charles Townshend, who was gone to Sudbroke, it seems : not finding him, he then proceeded to George's, and enforced with him, in the strongest manner, every argument for his brother's acceptance of treasurer of the chamber, which is, in every respect, exactly equal to the cofferer. At last, the Prince of Wales's name was used, and with such effect, that George Townshend is determined to push it with his brother to the uttermost, not to break such a public measure upon so slight and unjustifiable a foundation, &c. Charles's answer is not yet come.

In this paper of the Duke's Potter stands destined to half the pay-office, which all our friends here seem to think and fear will give offence, as being too high a step — Sir Richard Lyttelton to the jewel-office ; which he consents to accept, though with reluctance, unless the privy-council be added to it : in which case, he will be most thoroughly pleased ; without it he will be pleased too, if his friends wish him to accept it. Jack

Pitt remains fixed for the admiralty, and Lord Pulteney cannot be carried. However, the inclosed paper delivers us happily from all difficulty on that head, and he is most obligingly devoted to us.

The Duke of Devonshire, I believe, has been pretty direct to the King, and I dare say means us very fairly : at the same time, Lord Hillsborough is upon the list for a peerage—Lord Bateman and Dick Edgcumbe for the two staves, and Sloper ⁽¹⁾, a Fox man, intended for the board of trade. This, with intelligence received by Lord Bute this evening, that the Fox party soften towards the Duke of Devonshire, and that the Duke of Bedford cools, — all which is confirmed to us by the Duke of Devonshire, — shows that his Grace means to keep terms of a good deal of friendship with that party, though I dare say he will act most fairly towards us. At the same time it may occur to you, perhaps, that Pratt becomes only so much the more necessary to us.

Lord Bute, in his last words to me, desired me to inform you, that upon the whole he found himself under a total inability how to advise you in the present emergency : he could only say, that he desired to leave the whole determination of this matter to your own decision, resolved only to approve and support to the utmost whatever shall be the result of your judgment. This is also the exact situation of the rest of your friends ; all

(1) William Sloper, Esq., member for Great Bedwin.

desiring to appeal to you for decision, though, under the present list, they desire me to say they are all satisfied with their personal situations. I know no difficulty then remaining, but the state of the court and of the country : the state of the latter we know but too well — the state of the former not at all.

My servant waits till the Duke's departure (who is coming to you with Legge) for your answer, in Lady Hester's hand, which may be as long or concise as you please : let it be whatever it will, add only that you recover very fast, and you will make us all most happy — most particularly so,

Your most affectionate brother, &c.

TEMPLE. ⁽¹⁾

P. S. I understand the Duke intends to push for a lieutenant-colonel's commission for Sir Henry Erskine, or something satisfactory.

(¹) The Duke of Newcastle's resignation, on the 11th of November, was followed, on the 19th, by that of the chancellor. The great seal was given in commission to lord chief justice Willes, Judge Wilmot, and Baron Smyth. Mr. Pitt was appointed secretary of state ; the Duke of Newcastle was succeeded at the treasury by the Duke of Devonshire ; and Lord Anson at the admiralty, by Earl Temple. Mr. Legge became chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of Sir George Lyttelton, who was elevated to the peerage ; and George Grenville was made treasurer of the navy in the place of Bubb Dodington. With the exception of a few other changes which took place in the boards of treasury and admiralty, no material alterations occurred in the remaining offices of administration.

[Enclosed in the preceding letter.]

Lord Pulteney expressed himself in the kindest and most obliging terms, with regard to the part that we all bore in the intended system; declared his wishes and hopes for its entire success; that from the great and good opinion he had of those engaged in it, he was sure there would be nothing that he should have any difficulty to forward to the utmost of his power, and give the most cordial support to; that he looked upon himself as embarked in the same vessel, and if his giving his support and assistance to it in office was necessary to its stability, he would certainly take his part in it, as he himself had used his utmost endeavours to persuade Mr. Charles Townshend to do, whose being in office was of importance; but as he doubted of the foundations upon which this transaction was built and depended, from the state of the court, he wished rather not to take his part in it in any office at present, though he approved extremely of the principles that had been laid down with regard to it, and thought his support to the system out of office more advantageous than in office, and chose to make this declaration now (which he did with the utmost generosity and friendship) before any office was mentioned to his Lordship, instead of declining it afterwards.

Nov. 11. 1756.

THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE GRENVILLE TO MR. PITT.

Upper Brook Street, November 18, 1756.

Past 12 o'clock.

DEAR PITT,

LORD TEMPLE informed me late last night of the commission which you desired me to execute for you with Mr. Legge, about writing the circular letters, and convening the assembly at the cockpit. I saw him this morning, and had a long conversation with him upon that subject, in which I stated to him the great impropriety of such an idea; and I must do him the justice to say, that as soon as ever it was mentioned, which I did in the most friendly manner and expression, he absolutely declined any thoughts of it, and so fully, that one would scarce believe he had ever entertained them. He assured me, in the strongest terms, that his most earnest wish was to see you take the lead in that and every other particular; that he was sensible how great an impropriety it would be for you to write the Speech, (which we both highly approved of,) and for him to convene and open it at the cockpit; that for you to convene and open it at the cockpit, and him to write the circular letters to every body to attend it, would be still more absurd, and not fit to be done, either for your sake or his own; that for his part he was clearly of opinion you should do the whole yourself; that he would most certainly attend you there, and beg all his friends to do so too. We both agreed that it

would be of great consequence, and highly desirable to have the meeting as numerous as it could be ; and therefore, that as little time as might be should be lost in giving the usual and proper notices.

There are two sorts of summons upon this occasion. The first is, by letters writ into the country, to desire gentlemen to come up. These have always been writ by the secretary of the treasury, and signed by the person that opens the assembly at the cockpit. The second are the common circular letters writ and signed by the secretary of the treasury, and sent about London, the day before the meeting at the cockpit is appointed. As the Parliament is so near, no time should be lost in hastening the first ; and as they have always been signed by the minister of the House of Commons himself, it might occasion constructions, which, in the present state, may have an ill effect, if they should be signed by the secretary of the treasury. Many might wonder at the change, many be offended ; if, therefore, you are well enough (as I hope you are) in other respects, and the lameness is not in that hand, it would be to be wished you should sign them, or as many as you can. For this purpose, Mr. Legge promised me to order them to be writ out, and if you approve of it, they shall be sent by a messenger to you, that as many of them as can may be sent by the post on Saturday. As to the second sort of these circular letters, they have always been writ and signed by the secretary of the treasury ; so that in them there is no diffi-

culty whatever. I suppose you must be in your office, before you can open the assembly at the cockpit, and we all flatter ourselves you will be able to be so, by that time.

I find Mr. Legge's opinion is, to trust the Speech and the address to the first day of the session and not to adjourn the report of the former; for though many of us will be out of parliament, yet Mr. Potter and the two Mr. Townshends will both be there, the first day of the session, and there is no prospect, he believes, of any opposition to it; and the sending the Speech abroad for ten days may be liable to some inconveniences. Mr. George Townshend and Lord Pulteney are disposed to move and second it, I believe, if you approve of it; but that you will have time to consider of. I am obliged to kiss hands to morrow, not having been able to do it to-day for the chapter of the garter; otherwise I should have endeavoured to have brought you this account myself, instead of sending it. I hope Lady Hester and yours are perfectly well. I need not say how much we wish to receive a good account of you, and how impatient we are to see you here, when every hour produces a fresh difficulty and distress, and yet we cannot wish it a moment before you are sufficiently recovered. Adieu, dear Pitt.

Yours most affectionately,

G. GRENVILLE. (1)

(1) The two Houses met on the 2d of December. "Our first day of parliament," writes Horace Walpole to Sir Horace

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY FOX TO MR. PITT.

November 28, 1756.

SIR,

UPON reading over Lord Tyrawly's private letters, I think you should see the whole, not only extracts of them. The letter to lord Barrington, referred to in his Lordship's of September 20th, is long and particular. It is in the war office, and I suppose you will desire to see it. I received Lord Tyrawly's three last letters since I resigned the seals, and in answer wrote his Lordship word what ill success my solicitations had met with; that I would acquaint you with his earnest desire to come home, and his reasons for it, and wished you might succeed better in those endeavours which I did not doubt you would use to oblige him.

Mann, on the 8th of December, "passed off harmoniously; but in the House of Lords there was an event. A clause of thanks for having sent for the Hanoverians had crept into the address of the peers — by Mr. Fox's means, as the world thinks. Lord Temple came out of a sick bed to oppose it. Next day there was an alarm of an intention of installing the same clause in our address. Mr. Pitt went angry to court, protesting that he would not take the seals, if any such motion passed: it was sunk. Next day he accepted; and the day after, Mr. Fox, extremely disgusted with the Duke of Devonshire for preferences shown to Mr. Pitt, retired into the country. The parliament is adjourned for the re-elections; and Mr. Pitt, who has pleased in the closet, is again laid up with the gout." — Vol. iii. p. 166.

I beg the favour of you to let his Lordship know that I have lost no time to put this business into your hands.

I am, with the greatest respect, Sir,

your most obedient

and most humble Servant,

H. Fox.

[Enclosure, No. I.]

LORD TYRAWLY⁽¹⁾ TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY FOX.

(*Private.*)

Gibraltar, August, 20 1756.

DEAR SIR,

IN a letter I had the honour of writing to you about a month ago, I took the liberty of giving you my opinion of the present situation of our affairs in this part of the world; and I see no reason as yet, nor do I foresee any, to make me alter that opinion; which in substance is, that as Minorca is of no sort of use to the French, and

(¹) Field-marshal the Hon. James O'Hara, second and last Lord Tyrawly, of that family, and colonel of the Coldstream regiment of Foot Guards, governor of Portsmouth, &c. He served in all Queen Anne's wars, and had been sent ambassador to the courts of Portugal and Russia. Early in this year, he had superseded General Fowke in the government of Gibraltar. He died in 1773, in his eighty-third year. He was a man of commanding talents, both as a soldier and a diplomatist, and in both capacities rendered considerable services to his country.

they do not intend it shall be of any to us, they will most certainly demolish Fort St. Philips, choke up the harbour of Mahon, and abandon the island. Many reasons convince me these things will happen, and not one occurs to me why they should not.

As to Gibraltar, I take for granted it will be extremely quiet; for I do not see that we do ourselves much good, or any body else any hurt by our being in possession of it. If any thing can tempt any body to besiege it, it will be the fatherless and motherless defenceless state it has been suffered to run into; all which I have fully represented at home, where I thought it was most proper.

I would conclude, from all this, that I hope I shall not be left in so idle a place as this is, when things at home are in a more lively state; and I should be much obliged to you, if you would bring it to pass that I might have leave to come home. The Duke ⁽¹⁾ assured me when I took leave of him, that he did not intend I should remain here; and as things in this part of the world seem to me to be brought to the state they will remain in, I hope to receive orders to return to my staff and my regiment of Guards. The sooner the better.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most faithful and most
obliged humble Servant,

TYRAWLY.

(1) The Duke of Cumberland.

[Enclosure, No. II.]

LORD TYRAWLY TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY FOX.

Gibraltar, August 27, 1756.

DEAR SIR,

IF you see the letters I write home to the Duke, which I assure myself you do, that is to say, if his Royal Highness thinks them worth the reading, you will find I am not so thoroughly satisfied that Gibraltar is so formidable a place as the common cry thinks it; but that it would want money, time, and ability in the distribution of both, to make it so. That Gibraltar is the strongest town in the world, that one Englishman can beat three Frenchmen, and that London Bridge is one of the seven wonders in the world, are the natural prejudices of an English coffee-house politician. I am doing some little matters here, that I think add to the strength of it; but much more ought to be done that I cannot take upon myself to work upon without orders. All these things I explain to the Duke as well as I can.

I still continue in the opinion that the French will demolish St. Philips, and choke up the harbour of Mahon, and be very well satisfied with their campaign, and think of nothing more this way; so that I really grow tolerably weary of Gibraltar, which is, in all respects, upon the most scandalous foot that ever town was, that pretends to call itself *une place de guerre*; though so exactly consistent

with our notions of this sort of things, that I assure myself it will never take any other form.

By a letter I received yesterday from Malaga, I hear Keene is very much indisposed. I am afraid it may be true, for I have not heard from him of some posts past, and our old acquaintance and friendship makes us very regular correspondents, as well as at present our duty. Now, if this embassy does not suit some parliamentary interest, or that it is not to be disposed of so as to influence the election of Newport Pagnel, Melcomb Regis, or Haverford-in-the-West, and that poor Keene should be removed, I should not dislike going to Madrid, since I am already so far in my way; though, upon my word, if I were at home with the Coldstream, I would not go out again for it. I am well known to the Queen of Spain, who knows, too, the regard her father and mother had for me, and that I am esteemed by all her family. ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ Ferdinand the Sixth of Spain married the Infanta of Portugal, daughter of John the Fifth. "Lord Tyrawly," says Horace Walpole, "had a thorough knowledge of the world, though less of his own country than of others. He had long been minister in Portugal, where he grew into such favour, that the late King, to keep him there, would have appointed him his general. He had a good deal of humour, and occasional good-breeding; but not to the prejudice of his natural temper, which was imperiously blunt, haughty, and contemptuous, with an undaunted portion of spirit. Accustomed to the despotism of Portugal, Muscovy, and the army, he had little reverence for parliaments, and always spoke of them as the French do of the long-robe. He even affected not to know where the House of Commons was." — *Memoirs of George II.*, vol. ii. p. 291.

This would make my way at Madrid sooner than John Trot from home would be able to do it; besides that, I speak Spanish, a necessary circumstance at that Court. However, this is not what I have in the least set my heart upon; but only of the two, I should like it better than Gibraltar; where, though there is a great deal to do, I have no power to do it, nor will that power ever be given to me or to any body else, though it is the ruin of the King's service here, that such a power is not lodged here.

I am, dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours, &c.

TYRAWLY.

[Enclosure No. III.]

LORD TYRAWLY TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY FOX.

Gibraltar, September 20, 1756.

DEAR SIR,

As you see all the letters that are stirring that you will give yourself the trouble of reading, whether they belong to your office or not, I beg your patience for the perusal of one of mine to my Lord Barrington of this date. You will observe by it, that I look upon Gibraltar as in a manner dismantled by the last measures taken in respect to its garrison, and I thought it my duty to lay my

opinion of this matter before the Duke, who, I am confident, could have no idea of things here being in so bad a condition, without such a representation as my letter contains. This, however, assures me of what I thought before, and I believe have wrote you, that we were under no apprehensions at home for Gibraltar; at least I do not dream of any such thing myself: nevertheless, it should be supported like une place de guerre, quand ce ne servoit que pour le qu'en droit on; at least as far as our burgher proceedings will admit of.

This being the case, I must beg your friendship in getting me leave to go home — the sooner the better, as there is nothing to do here but what any body may do just as well as myself. If they have a mind to go on with the works I have planned out here the engineer knows what I had intended, and I am not wanted for that or any thing else here that I can foresee. Besides, these new levies of troops, and the motions at home, make me desire very much to be there; and I assure you I take it as no great compliment to be left here as store-keeper of Gibraltar, when things carry so busy a face at home. And therefore, dear Sir, I beg you will make my mind easy, in getting me the Duke's leave to come home; and the moment I receive it, if I am so happy as to obtain it, I will set out from this place by sea, if there is any opportunity of doing so, or by the way of

Madrid and Lisbon, and go home in the packet-boat.

I beg my compliments at Holland House, and very heartily wish myself there.

I am, dear Sir, &c.

TYRAWLY.

ANDREW MITCHELL, ESQ., TO THE EARL OF
HOLDERNESSE.

(*Particular.*)

Dresden, December 9, 1756.

MY LORD,

I HAVE seen M. de Knyphausen ⁽¹⁾ twice, and I shall now give your lordship the heads of our conversation. He is a very sensible man, and knows much of France. If he stays any time here, I shall see him often, and endeavour to learn from him.

M. de Knyphausen thinks that the French really have a design to attack Madras; that they will send five or six thousand men under the command of M. Lally, an Irish officer of reputation; who, it is said, had formed the plan for this attempt.

He likewise says, that they intend to send more troops to North America; that the free companies of Fischer are destined for this service; that the

(1) "M. de Knyphausen has dined with me; he is one of the prettiest fellows I have seen; he has, with a great deal of life and fire, les manières d' un honnête homme, et le ton de la parfaitement bonne compagnie. He sees all places and all people, and is ubiquity itself." — *Lord Chesterfield*.

manner of sending men will be on board of small ships, carrying a hundred or a hundred and fifty men each, which can slip out of Rochelle and other ports, notwithstanding the vigilance of the English squadron before Brest. He added, that the French wondered that, while Brest was blockaded by the English admiral, more cruizers were not sent to look after the lesser ports, from whence ships go out daily.

When I hinted that these were vast designs to be executed in the East and West Indies at the same time by the French, who were not yet masters of the sea, he answered, they are so flushed with the conquest of Port Mahon, and their successes in North America, that they are capable of undertaking any thing.

As to an invasion of his Majesty's British dominions, he does not think that it is really intended. The project of Marshal Belleisle, of sending 50,000 men, is too vast, and therefore impracticable. Besides that, the French know that preparation that has been made in England to receive them, and that six months and upwards would be necessary for getting transports, &c., ready; of which England would not fail to have certain and early notice from Dieppe, Havre, and Dunkirk, where these vessels must assemble. When I urged, that an attempt of five, or ten thousand would be more easily conducted, and in some measure answer the intention of the French, he said, that formerly (before Prussia was well with England), the Marshal Belleisle had owned to him, that he

never would advise to attack England with a small number of men ; that such an attempt ought to be made by France only in case of extremity, as he looked upon it as most dangerous and desperate ; but that France had that always in reserve, and he should never advise the risking of it, but in case of extreme distress, and when France was reduced to sacrifice so many men for her own security, with a view to make a diversion, and throw England into confusion. ⁽¹⁾

M. de Knyphausen reckons the French army at 200,000, besides the militia ; their whole naval strength for next year about sixty ships of the line, that is, of fifty guns and upwards, of which there are now at Brest and Rochfort thirty, at Toulon fifteen, and in the different ports, upon the stocks, from twelve to fifteen ships ; and they have taken a great number of Genoese and Spanish sailors into their service.

He thinks France has so many resources, that they will easily find money for the expense of the war, at least for three or four years. He owns they have already exhausted *les fonds extraordinaires*, and that the money they borrow must be at six per cent. Their manner, he says, is to lay a new tax, and to farm it out for a term of years ; by which means the money comes in immediately.

(1) " We hear that France is determined to try a numerous invasion in several places in England and Ireland, *coute qui coute*, and knowing how difficult it is. We are well prepared and strong ; they have given us time. If it were easy to invade us, we should not have waited for an attack till the year 1756." — *Horace Walpole to Sir H. Mann*, vol. iii. p. 127.

It is certain the people pay much more than the public receives.

The French, he tells me, talk a very high and resentful language ; that they will use the Prussian dominions in Westphalia, and his Majesty's German dominions, in the same manner as Lewis XIV. did the Palatinate : but I took the liberty to ask M. Knyphausen, whether the French were most provoked against his Majesty, or the King of Prussia ? He fairly owned, that their rage was, at present, strongest against his Prussian Majesty, as the last that had offended — that they talked of having already humbled England.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

ANDREW MITCHELL.

MR. PITT TO SIR BENJAMIN KEENE.(¹)

(*Private.*)

Whitehall, December 14, 1756.

SIR,

ALTHOUGH a fit of the gout has confined me at home, from the day I had the honour to receive the seals (²), and that consequently I can have no orders from the King to communicate to your Excellency, I could not let M. d'Abreu's (³) courier go without a letter from me to your Excellency.

(¹) British ambassador at the court of Madrid. See p. 50.

(²) Mr. Pitt kissed hands on receiving the seals of the secretary of state's office, on the 4th of December.

(³) The Spanish minister at the court of Great Britain.

I am desirous to make use of this earliest opportunity to assure your Excellency, that though my ill fortune has not allowed me the honour of much acquaintance with your person, it has made me some amends, by not leaving me a stranger to your great abilities, and knowledge in business; particularly in all affairs between us and the court where you are employed.

Let me desire your Excellency to assure M. Wall ⁽¹⁾, in my name, of the respectful esteem and high consideration I have for his Excellency's person and eminent merits, and, at the same time, to let him know that I trust he will not have forgot an early Tunbridge acquaintance, who became his humble servant and admirer at his very first appearance amongst us; that as to all affairs between our courts, I trust we are both zealous — he as a good Spaniard, and I a good Englishman — to exert our sincere and warm endeavours to cultivate and carry forward the happy mutual dispositions of our Royal masters. I will only add, that his Excellency is too well acquainted with the nature of this country and government not to per-

(1) General Richard Wall, a catholic gentleman of Irish descent. He came to England in 1747, on a secret mission from Ferdinand VII., and continued as ambassador at the British court till 1754, when he was recalled, on the death of Don Caravalho and Lancaster, to fill the office of minister for foreign affairs. Horace Walpole says, "it is not to be told with what regret Wall quitted England, which had become his country, as much by affection as by extraction: he had really grown fond of it; but not at all to the prejudice of doing us what hurt he could in his public character."

ceive, with me, that in order to give solidity and duration to that harmony and friendship (the ties whereof I hope to see become indissoluble) it is necessary, not only that the two courts should be entirely satisfied, but that the two nations also should be mutually contented with each other.

I have seen M. d'Abreu once, and find that minister knowing in his business, and agreeable in his manner of doing it. I expressed to him my sincere desire to contribute all that depends on me to cultivate and improve the happy dispositions between our courts, which I have the satisfaction to find prevail so strongly, and that nothing could give me more joy, on my entrance into my office, than to trace in the papers of it those cordial expressions of friendship in your court, on the subject of the King's late instructions to our privateers, and which correspond so entirely to the sincere and cordial dispositions of the King, which produced those orders.

As soon as I shall be able to receive the honour of his Majesty's commands, I propose to write to your Excellency by the Corunna, returning your messenger Roworth, as you desire.

I am, &c. &c.

W. PITT.

P. S. This comes to you in another hand, my own being still weak. I must rely on your Excellency's goodness and judgment to say for me what is proper to the Duc d'Alva.

SIR BENJAMIN KEENE TO MR. PITT.

(*Private.*)

Madrid, January 11, 1757.

SIR,

IT is with many acknowledgments that I have received the honour of your private letter of the 14th past, by a messenger who arrived here on the 31st., and, not knowing when M. Wall may re-despatch him, I will not defer any longer to express my gratitude for the very obliging manner in which you have been pleased to communicate your being honoured with the seals, though you had not then had an opportunity of being charged with any commands from his Majesty for my guidance and discretion—a mark of your consideration for me, that flatters me as it ought.

Can you forgive it, if I have been guilty of a kind of breach of trust, at the very opening our correspondence? As I knew of no words that could so well inform M. Wall, either of your personal regard for him, or of your sentiments with respect to our courts, as your own, I gave him the perusal of your letter, and I have his permission (with a thousand thanks and compliments) to acquaint you, that we have both of us been so far seduced by our vanity, as to communicate its contents to their Catholic Majesties; who testified their approbation of your maxims, as being so conformable to their own professions of continuing in

and cultivating the friendship between the two crowns and *nations*.

But yet I fear, Sir, that I must sometimes bespeak your patience, if I cannot get through points, upon which the friendship of the *latter* so much depends, with the despatch they require. The harbouring French privateers in the ports of Spain; the delaying to give satisfaction to the pressing offices I have passed on these subjects, cause me many an uneasy hour; though my solicitations are pushed as far as they will go, considering the delicacy of my situation, with regard to matters of a more public and extensive importance.

I would not willingly pass for a tedious correspondent at any *time*, much less so at present, when you have so much occasion for *it*, and for all the health I wish you. Give me leave therefore only to add, that the Duke of Alva received and returns your compliment in the most polite and attentive manner, and I doubt not but M. Wall will let d'Abreu know how much he is obliged to you for the honourable mention you have made of him.

I am, with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most humble

and most obedient servant,

B. KEENE.

GILBERT ELLIOT, ESQ.⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Admiralty, January 13, 1757.

SIR,

THE enclosed letter is writ from Frankfort, by Sir James Stewart, a gentleman of parts and observation, but who is precluded from returning to his country, by the share he is supposed to have had in the last rebellion. You may have heard him mentioned by Sir Richard Lyttelton. They met last season at Spa. I have taken the liberty to send you this letter, not on account of the political speculation it contains, but because I find in it a very minute state of the force and resources of the King of Prussia. Perhaps, too, I may secretly wish, though I am hardly conscious of it, to bias you a little in this gentleman's favour, in case his services on some future day may prove the truth of those professions he now makes of his loyalty.⁽²⁾

I have the honour to be, with the most sincere regard, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant, &c.

GILB. ELLIOT.

⁽¹⁾ Afterwards Sir Gilbert Elliot. He was at this time a lord of the admiralty. In 1762, he was appointed treasurer of the chamber; in 1767, keeper of the signet for Scotland; and in 1770, treasurer of the navy. He died in 1777.

⁽²⁾ In March 1772, Sir James Stewart received the King's pardon, and was presented to his Majesty by Lord Barrington.

SIR JAMES STEWART TO JOHN STEWART, ESQ.

[Enclosed in the preceding letter.]

Frankfort-on-the-Main, December 26, 1756.

* * * * * Now, as for the state of affairs in Saxony, here it is, as near as I can learn. The King of Prussia has an army of 160,000 men to oppose to the Austrians at the opening of the campaign. He has, by exhausting not only Saxony, but all the neighbourhood, by the different applications of force and fair play, according as they could be severally employed, gathered together, in magazines established every where, sufficient provisions for his army for two years. The resources he has found in Saxony, added to the ready money he had before he began this affair, put his finances in noble order. He is himself indefatigable, gay, and hearty; in short, he has neglected no precaution human prudence could dictate, to put himself in a posture, fit to bring about his great designs. He has enlarged the camp of Pirna, and fortified it better; he has done the same by Dresden and Torgau; his fortresses in Silesia are in noble order, and well provided with every thing. By all these precautions, he has this great advantage over his enemies, that if at the opening of the campaign he be beat, he has a strong country to retire into, both in Silesia and Saxony, with his magazines full every where; on

the contrary, if the Austrians are beat, the whole kingdom of Bohemia is open, and the second battle may be fought at the gates of Vienna; besides, there are no such provisions made by the Austrians, either for subsistence or in money, as on the other side.

THE HON. GEORGE TOWNSHEND TO MR. PITT.

Audley Square, January 15, 1757.

DEAR SIR,

I HAD waited upon you yesterday, having seen and consulted a great number of gentlemen about the inquiry ⁽¹⁾, but I was among the number of those who were so unfortunate as to hear of your being ill again. If the assuring you that the many friends you have bear with no less patience and resignation than sincere affliction this ill news, will be any alleviation of what you above all must suffer by your confinement, you may depend on this from one, that we will put off till the last moment the great national business that lies at our door sooner than proceed in it without your advice, however interesting and critical the expectation and demands of the public renders it with respect to us all. As soon as your health will permit you to see me I beg to hear from you, having something very material to communicate to

(1) The inquiry into the causes of the loss of Minorca.

you from many very valuable men; and, in the interim, that you will believe me to be, with the most perfect respect and affection,

Dear Sir, your most faithful

and obliged humble servant,

GEO. TOWNSHEND.

Saturday evening.

LORD TYRAWLY TO MR. PITT.

(*Private.*)

Gibraltar, February 1, 1757.

SIR,

HAVING answered your letter, that informs me of your being secretary of state for the southern province, under which malign influence I am at present banished, give me leave very sincerely to wish you joy of it, *si tant y a que* there is any joy in it. As you have succeeded Mr. Fox in his employment, I must observe to you, that there is a duty incumbent upon you that you cannot, in common decency, avoid performing with the greatest exactness, viz. to be as much my friend as he was — never to omit an opportunity of serving me, when in your power, and even to seek occasions of doing it.

I beg leave to desire you to try your hand, *par coup d'essai*, and to assure you, that you cannot give me a more essential mark of your friendship, than to get me out of this place. I left England

in five days after I was appointed to this command, leaving my private affairs in a state of great confusion, growing worse every day, and such as must end in ruin to me, unless I am permitted to go home to look after them.

I will not trouble you with a long account of what I have done here. Let it suffice, that I have rectified all that was or will be in my power to mend here, either as to additional works⁽¹⁾, where I thought them necessary to the strength of the place, or by such regulations as I was at liberty to

(1) "While at Gibraltar, Lord Tyrawly ordered great additions to the works, with no more economy than governors are apt to do, who think themselves above being responsible. Lord George Sackville caught at this dissipation, and privately instigated Sir John Philips to censure the expence. To their great surprise, Lord Tyrawly demanded to be heard at the bar of the House in his own defence. A day was named. He drew up a memorial, which he proposed to read to the House. It attacked Lord George roundly on having avoided all foreign command. Thus alarmed, Lord George got the day of hearing adjourned for near a fortnight, and having underhand procured the report of Skinner, who surveyed the works at Gibraltar, to be brought before the House, without mentioning what it was, Mr. Fox laid open the unhandsome darkness of this conduct, and Lord Tyrawly himself appeared at the bar, and made good by his behaviour all that had been taken for vapour before he appeared there; for, leaning on the bar, he browbeat Skinner, his censor, who stood on his left hand, with such arrogant humour, that the very lawyers thought themselves outdone in their own style of worrying a culprit. He read his memorial, which was well drawn, with great art and frankness, and assumed more merit to himself than he had been charged with blame. Such tough game tempted few hunters; Lord George was glad to wave the sport; and the House dismissed the affair." — *Walpole's George II.*, vol. ii. p. 293.

make. If I am kept here till doomsday I can do no more; nor do I see how the King's affairs will be advanced by the ruin of mine. I take it to be matter of great indifference to our neighbours, by sea or land, whether we are at Gibraltar, or settled upon the Eddystone, in respect of the use this place is of to us, or hurt to them, since we have made public proclamation to all Europe of the first, by sending for Sir Edward Hawke's squadron home to clean, because we could not do it here. The French, who have Toulon, do not want Minorca, otherwise than to deprive us of it; therefore, I persuade myself, that they will, at their own time, demolish St. Philip's, choke up the harbour of Mahon, and abandon the island, leaving it as useless to us as it is to them. Their not having repaired the works since the siege, confirms me in this opinion, as well as their rough treatment of the inhabitants and clergy; and the oppressions they suffer their troops garrisoned there to exercise towards the people in general, would be very absurd and impolitic, if they proposed to keep the island.

But I am spinning out a long letter that will be of no use to you. I wish I could be of any myself; but if you will be so to me, in getting me out of this place, I shall be extremely obliged to you. (1) I am, Sir, with the greatest regard,

Your most obedient, &c.

TYRAWLY.

(1) On the 16th of April, Lord Tyrawly was relieved from

MRS. OSBORN⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Charles Street, Berkeley Square, Feb. 17, 1757. ¹

PARDON, I beseech you, Sir, the importunity of a sister, who now is reduced to the hard necessity of begging the life of an unhappy brother, and hopes this wretched situation will plead for her with you, whose humanity and generosity, she flatters herself, will prevail on you to intercede in behalf of a victim to popular clamour, with the King, whose long reign has been an uninterrupted scene of mercy.

The earnest and unanimous recommendation of the *many* judges who passed sentence on him, cannot but have made an impression on the heart of the King; who has, in every instance, bestowed life on such as have been recommended as objects of his mercy by *one*.

This, supported by your intercession, will very probably prevail on the King to indulge himself in that favourite inclination to save a life, which will be

the governorship of Gibraltar, and the Earl of Home appointed in his room. In the following December, he presided at the court-martial appointed to inquire into the miscarriages at Rochfort.

(¹) Sarah, only daughter of George Byng, Viscount Torrington, and sister of Admiral Byng. She was married to John, the eldest son of Sir John Osborn, of Chicksand Priory, in the county of Bedford.

spent in blessing him as the giver of it, and you as the means of obtaining it.

I am, Sir, your most distressed,
obedient humble servant,
S. OSBORN.(¹)

MR. PITT TO MR. THOMAS CUMMING.(²)

Whitehall, February 9, 1757.

GOOD AND WORTHY FRIEND,

I WRITE this letter to you merely to repeat to you upon paper, what I have often said with great sincerity to you in conversation, namely, that I have so good an opinion of your integrity, and think the service you are going upon to Africa so

(¹) "In the debate in the House of Commons on the 23rd of February on Byng's sentence, Mr. Pitt, with true spirit, avowed himself on the side of mercy. He wished it might be extended to the prisoner, and owned he thought more good would come from mercy than rigour. The next day, he moved the King for mercy, but was cut very short; nor did his Majesty remember to ask his usual question, 'whether there were any favourable circumstances?'" — *Walpole's George II.*, vol. ii. p. 152.

(²) The design of attacking the French settlements on the river Senegal was first suggested by Mr. Thomas Cumming, a quaker, in the year 1756. Mr. Pitt, perceiving the beneficial consequences which would attend the execution of his proposition, gave him every encouragement in his power. His first administration was too short to enable him to carry it into execution; but in May, 1758, Fort Louis and Senegal were taken.

likely to prove beneficial to the public, that, in case success attends your endeavours, I promise you my best assistance in obtaining an exclusive charter in your favour for a limited term of years, with regard to that vein of trade which your industry and risk shall have opened to your country.

Averse, as I always shall be to exclusive charters in general, I think your case a just exception ; so, wishing cordially the favour of Providence on your undertaking, I remain, with much esteem,

Your sincere and faithful friend,

W. PITT.

THE HON. GEORGE TOWNSHEND TO MR. PITT.

Audley Square, February 14, 1757.

DEAR SIR,

I MUST beg leave to inform you that the militia⁽¹⁾ comes on in the committee to-morrow. Perhaps you may not have heard that it is to be attacked, and under a pretence of substituting another plan they have not prepared and never mean, they hope once more to evade the establish-

(1) Mr. George Townshend's famous militia bill. After mature deliberation and divers alterations, it passed the Commons ; but in the Lords it underwent several amendments, one of which was the reduction of the number of militia-men to one half of what the Commons proposed. The amendments met with some opposition, and several conferences ensued ; but at length the two Houses agreed to every article, and the bill received the royal assent.

ment of this their much dreaded constitutional force.

We hope, no less on account of your health than for our own sakes, that you will find yourself in a state to support this essential and indeed almost only remaining effort in defence of our liberties and ability as a nation. How far your assistance and force upon this or any other occasion in parliament is of weight, it would look like flattery in me, however signal it is, to attempt to give a just description of, and I shall only conclude with assuring you of my best wishes and respects on all occasions, and am, Sir, with the greatest regard,

Your most obedient servant,

GEO. TOWNSHEND.

THE EARL OF BUTE TO MR. PITT.

Saturday, March 2, 1757.

MY DEAREST FRIEND,

I CANNOT think of interrupting your airing this fine day ; yet must pour out my heart in the sincerest congratulations upon the success of your great and most able conduct yesterday.⁽¹⁾ I have for some time past seen many gloomy and de-

(1) In the House of Commons, on the debate upon the King's message for granting 200,000*l.* for an army of observation, and enabling his Majesty to fulfil his engagements with the King of Prussia.

sponding worthy men ; with these I have ever insisted, that measures once taken, maturely weighed, and thought the best, the safest, and most generous, were to be pursued, let the inconstant gale of popular favour blow which way it will. I know how much we think alike ; and you have acted on this, as on all other occasions, the part of Horace's "firmum et tenacem propositi virum." You feel the inward satisfaction arising from it, and have met with the most deserved applause ; but had opinions (through suspicion, envy, or the arts of party) taken another turn, I am certain the firm support and countenance of *him* who is some day to reap the fruits of my friend's unwearied endeavours for the public safety, would make him perfectly easy under the frowns of prejudiced, deluded, fluctuating men.

Go on, my dear Pitt : make every bad subject your declared enemy, every honest man your real friend. I, for my part, must desire ever to share with you in both ; who am unalterably,

Your most affectionate friend,
and devoted servant,
BUTE.

ANDREW MITCHELL, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Dresden, March 12, 1757.

SIR,

SINCE my return from Brunswick, the King of Prussia told me he had had such accounts of your

behaviour in the House of Commons, that he thought himself much obliged to you, and he desired me to acquaint you with it, and in his name to return you thanks for the excellent speech you made on the 18th of February⁽¹⁾; which I do most sincerely, and with the greatest pleasure. I have the satisfaction at the same time to inform you, that the King of Prussia has the greatest confidence in his Majesty, and in his ministers, and he considers the late resolutions of parliament as the strongest assurances that can be given of the favourable and friendly disposition of the British nation towards him. Nor can it be doubted that his Prussian Majesty's actions will confirm every declaration that he has made, and entitle him more and more to the King's friendship and confidence, and to the affections of a free and generous people.

Allow me, Sir, as a private man, and an old friend, most sincerely to congratulate you in the high office, to which his Majesty has been pleased to call you; which, as I know you will fill with ability, dignity, and probity, I heartily wish you may long enjoy. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient,

and most humble servant,

ANDREW MITCHELL.

(¹) In defence of the treaty with the King of Prussia.

MR. PITT TO ANDREW MITCHELL, ESQ.

(*Private.*)

Whitehall, March 31, 1757.

SIR,

THE favour of your letter from Dresden, of the 12th instant, is every way too interesting to remain one moment unacknowledged. The infinite condescension and gracious goodness of his Prussian Majesty towards me, I feel as I ought, and consequently can express but very inadequately the most grateful sentiments of veneration and zeal for a prince, who stands the unshaken bulwark of Europe, against the most powerful and malignant confederacy, that ever yet has threatened the independence of mankind. I need not add, that I should be most unworthy of the honour of serving the best of sovereigns, if my zeal for the prosperity and glory of so firm and magnanimous an ally, did not endeavour to keep some pace with the sentiments of his Majesty's own royal breast. I will trust to your friendship to employ the properest and most expressive terms to lay at the King of Prussia's feet my real sentiments of attachment and admiration.

I may now come to a very pleasing and valuable part of your letter, where, in most obliging expressions, you mention old acquaintance and friendship. I shall have a particular pleasure in cultivating the honour of your kind remembrance,

and desire you will remain assured, that no one is with more truth and regard than myself, dear Sir,

Your most obedient,

and most humble servant,

W. PITT.⁽¹⁾

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO MR. PITT.

Wednesday, May 25, 1757.

SIR,

I HAVE seen the Duke of Newcastle this morning, who is extremely willing and desirous to have a conference with you, and thinks it may be most useful to have a meeting first with yourself, before

(1) In one week after the date of this letter, Mr. Pitt was dismissed from office; the Duke of Cumberland, who had been appointed to the command of the army of observation in Germany, being unwilling to act in concert with him. "It was now," says Lord Waldegrave, "the end of March, and it being resolved that a decisive step should be taken before the Duke left England, an offer was made to the Earl of Winchelsea of his being appointed first commissioner of the admiralty; which was accepted by him with most unfashionable readiness, and Earl Temple was acquainted that his services were no longer necessary. It was imagined that on this occasion Pitt would have immediately resigned; but he did not choose to save his enemies any trouble, and attended his duty at court with unusual assiduity, till, on the 6th of April, he was *turned out*. This was followed by Legge's resigning the chancellorship of the exchequer, and some other resignations." — *Memoirs*, p. 106. That, however, which was intended as a disgrace to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, only served to show more fully the extent of their popularity. The whole nation rose as one man in their vindication; and they received addresses of thanks, with the

that which he will also be proud of having with my Lord Bute. He therefore proposes that his Grace and you should meet this evening at Lord Royston's in St. James's Square, where I may attend you. The family is out of town, and that place will be better than any of our houses, and you (if you approve it) may come so far in your chair without hazard. I should think between eight and nine o'clock would be a proper time, unless you have any objection to it, and then any other hour you shall name.

I beg you will send me notice at Powis House, as soon as you can. I sincerely hope that you do not find any inconvenience from the late hour, which I was the occasion of your keeping last night, and am, with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient, and
most humble servant,

HARDWICKE. (1)

freedom of most of the principal corporations, in gold and other boxes of curious workmanship.

(1) "The primate of Ireland staid in England to negotiate between Newcastle and Pitt. Lord George Sackville laboured in the same cause; and about the second week in May, an interview was brought about between Pitt and Lord Hardwicke, — as the latter said, *by chance*. Pitt insisted that Newcastle should not interfere in the House of Commons, nor with the province of secretary of state; that is, with neither domestic nor foreign affairs, but should confine himself to the treasury. In a week the treaty was broken off." — *Walpole's George II.*, vol. ii. p. 210.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Pall Mall, May 29, 1757.

DEAR SIR,

THE Duke of Newcastle has virtually, though not actually, accepted. ⁽²⁾ Lord George Sack-

(¹) Dr. George Stone, brother of Mr. Stone, the confidential friend of the Duke of Newcastle (see p. 34.). In 1731, at the early age of twenty-eight, he was promoted to the bishoprick of Ferns; in 1733 to Kildare; in 1743 to Derry; and, in 1747, he was raised to the primacy of Armagh. He died in 1765.

(²) "On the 27th of May, the Duke went to Kensington, and promised to be sole minister, permitting Fox to be paymaster, but with no power. Sir Thomas Robinson was to be secretary of state, and Sir George Lee chancellor of the exchequer. The Duke was to retire to Claremont for two or three days. On the 3rd of June, he returned to Kensington, but still fluctuating, and begged to defer declaring his last resolution till the Tuesday following. The next day was the birth-day of the Prince of Wales. Pitt had a conference at the Prince's drawing-room with Newcastle and Lord Bute, who acted as mediator. Newcastle persisted that the King *would* retain Lord Winchelsea; and to balance the authority that he saw must fall to Pitt, said to him, 'But you will not act with Fox?' — Pitt replied, 'My Lord, I never said so — but does your Grace say you would? When you have said you will, I will consult my friends.' Newcastle, not the most intelligible even when he was explicit, took care not to be understood sooner than he was determined; and the conversation ended abruptly. However, on the 7th, though not agreed with Pitt, he went to Kensington, and declared to the King that he would not come in, unless Mr. Pitt's whole plan was accepted. The King reproached him bitterly with all his shifts and evasions; and demanded his assistance for Fox, if he would not himself undertake the service. He waved any such promise, and the King dismissed him in wrath." — *Walpole's Geo. II.*, vol. ii. p. 218.

ville will relate the particulars of what passed in the interview yesterday to my Lord Bute; but cannot do the same to you, as he is engaged to dine in the country to-day at Mr. Walpole's, and will be obliged to go thither before the hour that you are expected in town; but you will be sure to see Lord Bute, and hear from him all that I could inform you of.

His Grace goes to Claremont for a week; during which time nothing will be done. As my staying here cannot possibly be of the smallest use, I am just stepping into my chaise to begin my journey to Ireland, but cannot omit to leave behind me this very sincere assurance of my being, with the highest esteem and truth,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful and
affectionate servant,

GEORGE ARMAGH.

Saturday morning, 6 o'clock.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO MR. PITT.

Powis House, June 16, 1757.

SIR,

I AM to desire, in the Duke of Newcastle's name, as well as my own, that we may have the honour of meeting you and my Lord Bute at your house this evening a little before nine. I have, in like manner, sent notice to Lord Bute. I found the

Duke of Newcastle pleased, in the highest degree, with your visit and conversation this forenoon. I am, with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and
most humble servant,

HARDWICKE. ⁽¹⁾

(¹) "In his distress, the King sent for Lord Waldegrave, and commanded him to accept the high and dangerous post of first lord of the treasury. The public was not more astonished at that designation, than the Earl himself. He declined as long as modesty became him; but engaged with spirit, the moment he felt the abandoned state in which his master and benefactor stood." — *Walpole's Geo. II.*, vol. ii. p. 220.

"On the morning of the 11th of June, lord chief justice Mansfield was ordered to be at Kensington. The reason assigned was that he should deliver back the exchequer seals, which had been in his possession from the time of Legge's resignation; but the real business was of a different nature. The King discoursed with him a considerable time in the most confidential manner, and the conversation ended by giving Lord Mansfield full powers to negotiate with Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle; his Majesty only insisting, that Lord Temple should have no employment which required frequent attendance in the closet, and that Fox should be appointed pay-master; which last demand did not proceed from any present partiality, but was the fulfilling of a former engagement. Before the final resolution was taken, his Majesty thought proper to ask my advice. I told him I was clear in my opinion, that our administration would be routed at the opening of the session; for that the Duke of Newcastle had a considerable majority in the House of Commons, whilst the popular cry without doors was violent in favour of Mr. Pitt." — *Waldegrave's Memoirs*, p. 128. On the 15th of June, the King wrote a note to Lord Hardwicke, desiring him, that he would hasten an administration that would not be changed again in five months.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO MR. PITT.

Powis House, June 22, 1757.
half-past eleven.

SIR,

SINCE I had the honour of seeing you last, I have talked, by way of sounding, in the best manner I could, to all the three persons who can now come under consideration in the disposition of the great seal. I think I see clearly the way of thinking and inclination of them all, which differs very little from the conjectures which we had formed concerning them. It is now so late, that if I should have any chance of finding you at home, I should only put you in danger of being out of time for the levee. Considering that this will be no day of business, I take it for granted that it will be the same thing, if I give you the detailed account at night; for the Duke of Newcastle tells me, we must have a meeting this evening, where I will be at your service. In the mean time, as my *pleureurs* keep me from court, I will go and dine with my son at Richmond, and not fail to be back time enough for any hour you will meet at. Indeed, I am very desirous that we should meet this evening, for precious moments are lost; and not innocently wasted, but to the detriment of that great and useful system, which we are labouring to establish.

I am most sincere and zealous in my endeavours to bring about what you so much wish for a pre-

sent arrangement of the great seal ; but I see vast difficulties attending it. I am, with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient,
and most humble servant,
HARDWICKE.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO MR. PITT.

Powis House, June 25, 1757.
Saturday night.

DEAR SIR,

HOWEVER improper for a private man, yet *majoris fugiens opprobria culpæ*, I did, in compliance with your commands, and those of our other friends who met on Thursday night, attend the King to-day, in order to know if he had any orders for me relating to the disposition of the great seal. I found his Majesty very grave and thoughtful on the news which came last night⁽¹⁾, but calm. He soon entered into matter ; and it is unnecessary, as well as hardly possible, to give you the detail of my audience in writing. His Majesty expressed his desire to settle his administration on the plan fixed, but thought there was no necessity of making a hasty disposition of so important an office as the great seal an immediate part of it. However, the result was that he absolutely refused to give a

(1) The defeat of the King of Prussia, at Kolin, by the Austrians, commanded by Count Daun, on the 17th of June.

peerage with it ; which I think puts my lord chief justice Willes out of the case ; for his lordship not only told me before, but has since repeated, that peerage is with him a condition *sine quâ non*. I see the King inclines more to Mr. Attorney General ; and when I stated to his Majesty, what I collected or conjectured to be his views, he hearkened, and at last bade me talk to Sir Robert Henley, reduce his terms as low as I could, and bring them to him in writing on Monday.

Since I saw my lord chief justice Willes, I have seen Sir Robert Henley, who talks very reasonably and honourably. His proposals are : — first, a reversionary grant of the office of one of the tellers of the exchequer to his son for life ; second, a pension of 1500*l.* per annum on the Irish establishment to Sir Robert Henley himself for life, to commence and become payable upon his being removed from the office of lord keeper, and not before ; but to be determinable and absolutely void, upon the office of teller coming into possession to his son. ⁽¹⁾ My present opinion is, that the King may be induced to agree to this on Monday ; for when I hinted, in my discourse, at a pension upon

⁽¹⁾ "The seals had been offered to Murray, and to the master of the rolls, who refused them, and to Willes, who proposed to be bribed by a peerage to be at the head of his profession ; but could not obtain it. Henley, however, who saw it was the mode of the times to be paid by one favour for receiving another, demanded a tellership of the exchequer for his son ; which was granted, with a pension of 1500*l.* a year till it should drop." — *Walpole*, vol. ii. p. 226.

Ireland, though his Majesty treated it pretty severely at first, yet, when I stated the several contingencies in which it might, in this case, never become any real charge upon the revenue, he said, of himself, that made the case different.

I found to-night, by my lord chief justice Willes, that he is to go to Kensington on Monday, to get some warrantssigned; and thinks that either the King may speak to him, or that he may say something to his Majesty on this subject, but I am persuaded that will have no effect, unless he gives up the peerage, which I am of opinion he never will.

If the affair of the great seal should be settled on Monday, in the person of Sir Robert Henley, as I conjecture it will, I see nothing that can obstruct your beginning to kiss hands on Tuesday. For God's sake, Sir, accelerate that, and don't let any minutiae stand in the way of so great and necessary a work. I long to see this scheme executed for the King's honour and repose, the harmony of his royal family, and the stability of his government. I have laboured in it zealously and disinterestedly; though without any pretence to such a degree of merit as your politeness and partiality ascribes to me. I see with you, that attempts are flying about to tarnish it; but, if it is forthwith executed on this foot, those will all be dissipated in the region of vanity, and instead of a *mutilated, enfeebled, half-formed* system, I am persuaded it will come out a complete, strong, and well-cemented one, to which your wisdom, temper,

and perfect union with the Duke of Newcastle will give durableness. In all events, I shall ever retain the most lively impressions of your great candour and obliging behaviour towards me, and continue to be with the utmost respect, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient, and

most humble servant,

HARDWICKE. ⁽¹⁾

(¹) "At last, after an interval of eleven weeks, the ministry was settled, and kissed hands on the 29th. The Duke of Newcastle returned to the treasury, with Legge for his chancellor of the exchequer. Pitt and Lord Holderness were secretaries of state. Lord Temple had the privy seal in the room of Lord Gower, who was made master of the horse. Fox accepted the pay-office, professing great content, and that he should offend neither in thought, word, nor deed; and Lord Anson was restored to the admiralty." — *Walpole*, vol. ii. p. 224.

"On the day they were all to kiss hands, I went to Kensington, to entertain myself with the innocent, or perhaps ill-natured, amusement of examining the different countenances. The behaviour of Pitt and his party was decent and sensible; they had neither the insolence of men who had gained a victory, nor were they awkward and disconcerted, like those who come to a place where they know they are not wanted." — *Waldegrave*, p. 138.

From this period commenced the brilliant era, justly called MR. PITT'S ADMINISTRATION; in which he became the soul of the British counsels, conciliated the goodwill of the King, infused a new spirit into the nation, and curbed the united efforts of the house of Bourbon. The following picture of the state of affairs at this moment is contained in a letter from the Earl of Chesterfield to Mr. Dayrolles: — "Whoever is in, or whoever is out, I am sure we are undone, both at home and abroad: at home, by our increasing debt and expences; abroad, by our ill-luck and incapacity. The King of Prussia, the only ally we had in the world, is now, I fear, *hors de combat*. Hanover

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Claremont, July 11, 1757.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE read with great attention and satisfaction my Lord Loudoun's⁽¹⁾ letters. He seems to have acted with great diligence and ability. We have a noble force there; and if the transports, &c. can but escape M. de Beaufremont (for which I own I am in the utmost pain), I think we have the most flattering prospect of success. I cannot make the French, by these accounts, to have above thirteen ships of the line. The expense is great; but as it is necessary, I do not in the least grudge it. But we must take the greatest care not to be imposed upon by agents, contractors, and remitters; and therefore I must beg that you would order extracts of these letters, as far as relates to the articles of expense and the value of the coin, to be sent to the secretaries of the treasury, that when bills are drawn, we may know the services for which the money was expended, and that we may be able to talk to the contractors upon the grievance justly complained of by my Lord Loudoun, relating to

I look upon to be, by this time, in the same situation with Saxony; the fatal consequence of which is but too obvious. The French are masters to do what they please in America. *We are no longer a nation. I never yet saw so dreadful a prospect.*"

(1) Commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America.

the fictitious value put upon the specie by what they call "the plugged gold."

The officers seem all good, and to do their duty; and I own I fear nothing, but this squadron of Beaufremont's. My Lord Loudoun, I find, mentions an act of parliament to be passed here. I don't well understand what he means by it. *They* don't seem to have given proper attention to that lately passed for the indentured servants. I hope you are assured that all the assistance that I can possibly give you with regard to these affairs you may command. I hope you have settled *your matters* with Sir John Ligonier. ⁽¹⁾ I was accidentally at court yesterday, upon the news I heard upon the road of the death of the Queen of Prussia. ⁽²⁾ I just saw the King: nothing material passed; he was in good humour, and in tolerable spirits. I attend the lieutenancy to-morrow morning, but shall come to Kensington afterwards, when I hope to renew to you the assurances how much

I am, dear Sir,

Most affectionately yours,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

⁽¹⁾ In the following October, Sir John Ligonier, who had greatly distinguished himself as a soldier under the Duke of Marlborough, and afterwards in Germany, was made commander-in-chief of the land forces in Great Britain, and raised to the Irish peerage, by the title of Viscount Ligonier of Enniskillen. In 1763, he was created an English baron; and in 1766, an English earl. He died in 1770, at the age of ninety-one.

⁽²⁾ Sophia Dorothea, daughter of George the First, by the unfortunate heiress of Zell. She was married in 1706 to Frederick William, of Brandenburg, afterwards King of Prussia, and was the mother of Frederick the Great.

P. S. The Duchess of Newcastle desires her best compliments. I beg you would order Mr. Rivers to send me your letters and instructions to the Earl of Loudoun and Admiral Holbourne, that I may have the pleasure of seeing them, and knowing the orders, the generals and admiral these are under. I am sure I shall most entirely approve of them. (1)

JOHN WILKES, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Aylesbury, July 14, 1757. (1)

SIR,

THE day after my election I had the honour of paying my respects in St James's Square. I was

(1) "Shortly after came letters from the Earl of Loudoun, the commander-in-chief in North America, stating that he found the French 21,000 strong, and that not having so many, he could not attack Louisburg, but should return to Halifax. Admiral Holbourne, one of the sternest condemners of Byng, wrote at the same time, that he having but seventeen ships, and the French nineteen, he dared not attack them. Here was another summer lost! Pitt expressed himself with great vehemence against the earl; and we naturally have too lofty ideas of our naval strength to suppose that seventeen of our ships are not a match for any nineteen others." — *Walpole's Geo. II.* vol. ii. p. 231.

(2) Mr. Wilkes, who at this time resided at Aylesbury, had been elected member for that town on the 6th of July, in the room of Mr. Potter, who was returned for Oakhampton. This election is said to have cost him upwards of seven thousand pounds, and to have involved him in pecuniary difficulties. In the course of the year, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Buckinghamshire militia.

desirous of so early an opportunity of saying how greatly I wish to be numbered among those who have the highest esteem and veneration for Mr. Pitt. I am very happy now to contribute more than my warmest wishes for the support of his wise and excellent measures; and my ambition will ever be to have my parliamentary conduct approved by the ablest minister, as well as the first character, of the age. I live in the hope of doing my country some small services at least; and I am sure the only certain way of doing any is by a steady support of your measures.

I beg leave to assure you, that I shall never depart from these sentiments, and shall always endeavour to distinguish myself, with the most entire zeal and attachment, Sir,

Your most devoted,

humble servant,

JOHN WILKES.

THE EARL OF BUTE TO MR. PITT.

[Friday, August 5, 1757.]

MY DEAREST FRIEND,

I HEARTILY thank you for giving me this early notice of this event⁽¹⁾; for, terrible as it is, certain

(1) The defeat of the Duke of Cumberland by Marshal D'Etrées at Hastenbeck, on the 25th of July; in consequence of which, the city of Hanover was taken possession of by the French.

knowledge is better than uncertain rumours. I do not know that, in my life, I ever felt myself so affected with any foreign transaction. Oh, my dear friend, what dreadful auspices do we begin with ! and yet, thank God, I see you in office. If even the wreck of this crown can be preserved to our amiable young Prince, 'tis to your efforts, your abilities, my dear Pitt, that he must owe it. Let what will happen, one thing comforts me. I know you have a soul fit for these rough times, that, instead of sinking under adversity, will rise and grow stronger against it. Farewell, my dearest friend. No event shall ever make me cease to be one minute,

Most affectionately, most sincerely,

Yours, &c. &c.

BUTE.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Lewes, August 13, 1757.

DEAR SIR,

I AM very sorry to hear that the transports are not *yet* out of the river ; the King mentioned it to me with concern on Wednesday last.⁽¹⁾ I heartily

(1) One of Mr. Pitt's earliest measures, on coming into office, was an attempt to make a descent upon the coast of France. In equipping this large armament, he had two objects in view : the one, to destroy the enemy's principal arsenals, and burn, sink, or capture his shipping ; the other, to create a diversion in favour of the King of Prussia and Duke of Cumberland, by

wish we may not lose the most favourable wind for our operations that can blow. I am sure I need not recommend to *you* expedition. I hear there are material letters come by express from Admiral Osborn, and that they relate to operations in the Mediterranean: surely, that ought to be encouraged. I know nothing of the particulars proposed; but any success there of any kind would be of infinite service in our present situation. Could any attempt be made on Corsica? There is one Frederick⁽¹⁾, whom I don't know, who has made proposals to Lord Anson and the chancellor of the exchequer; and I once talked to him at the treasury. His scheme, as I remember it, was easy, though I fear not effectual. It consisted chiefly in supplying the malcontents in Corsica with arms, &c. &c., and giving them the protection of our fleet.⁽²⁾

compelling the French to withdraw their troops from Hanover, for the protection of their own coast. Owing to mismanagement in those who had contracted to furnish the transports, the squadron did not leave Spithead for Rochfort till the 8th of September, although the measure was decided upon in July. This delay occasioned Mr. Pitt much uneasiness.

(1) Colonel Frederick, son of Theodore, King of Corsica, and author of "Memoirs of Corsica." In 1797, this unfortunate gentleman put an end to his existence in the west porch of Westminster Abbey. He was buried by the side of his father, in the churchyard of St. Anne's, Soho. King Theodore died in December 1756, a few days after leaving the King's Bench prison by virtue of the insolvent act. Horace Walpole wrote his epitaph, and erected a marble slab to his memory.

(2) "I am told that we are negotiating with the Corsican, I will not say rebels, but assertors of their natural rights, to

I thought it might not be amiss to fling this out to you, as the directions to be sent to Admiral Osborn will now come under consideration.

I find a general quiet and satisfaction in this county as to affairs at home, but great apprehensions and uneasiness from those abroad. The junction of the King of Prussia with the Prince's army is a great point: good success from thence might have a good effect *in all respects*, and for that reason as well as many others, I hope nothing will be precipitated. I am, with great respect, dear Sir, your most affectionate,

Humble servant,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

THE HON. GEORGE GRENVILLE TO MR. PITT.

Wotton, August 14, 1757.

DEAR PITT,

I AM extremely sensible of the great difficulties which the present distressful state of affairs must bring upon those who have the direction of our measures in this dangerous conjuncture. I therefore rejoice very sincerely that it has been in your

receive them, and whatever form of government they think fit to establish, under our protection, upon condition of their delivering up to us Port Ajaccio; which may be made so strong and so good a one, as to be a full equivalent for the loss of Port Mahon. This is, in my mind, a very good scheme." — *Lord Chesterfield*, September 30, 1757.

power to withstand any propositions inconsistent with the security and satisfaction of the public. When I first heard that the Duke was obliged to retreat, and to abandon a great part of the Electorate to the French army, it was easy to foresee that the subsistence of the army under his command would bring on an additional expense; but it certainly was very much to be wished that that expense should, if possible, be defrayed for the present from *some other quarter*, rather than out of the million destined for the services of this year. It is evident this would have given a great facility, not only to the demand of this money, when it came to be made, but also to whatever else should be unavoidably necessary to ask upon the same head in the next session of parliament. These are considerations so obvious and so correspondent to your sentiments, that it is quite useless to repeat or enforce them. I take it for granted that they could not be complied with, and am very sorry for it.

The situation of the landgrave of Hesse is a melancholy one indeed, and if he continues in the same honourable firmness and fidelity to his engagements, well deserves our attention and support, especially as a daughter of Great Britain ⁽¹⁾

(1) Mary, the fourth daughter of George II., was married in May 1740 to Frederick, Prince of Hesse. In 1754, the Prince abjured the protestant religion, and turned papist. "He was," says Horace Walpole, "obstinate, of no genius, and after long treating the princess, who was the mildest and gentlest of her

is a sharer in his misfortunes, whose distresses must put every body in mind of the unhappy Queen of Bohemia⁽¹⁾ in the last century, and will entitle her, in like manner, to the real concern and affectionate assistance of this country. I am fully persuaded, even if you had not told me so in your letter, that you have thoroughly weighed and considered all the circumstances attending this delicate and important question, and that you would not have consented to the taking those two sums of 100,000*l.* and 20,000*l.* out of the million, except from the conviction of an absolute necessity. Your situation furnishes you with many lights to guide you in this decision, which are necessary to enable any man to form a proper judgment upon the whole. Lord Temple left us before I received your letter, but I shall go to Stowe for three or four days next Tuesday, when I shall have an opportunity of talking to him upon this subject.

race, with great inhumanity, had for some time lived upon no terms with her; his father, the landgrave William, protected her." She died in 1771.

(1) Elizabeth, daughter of James I. of England. She was married in 1613 to Frederick, elector palatine; who, in 1619, accepted the crown of Bohemia, but being successfully opposed by Ferdinand of Austria, was put under the ban of the empire, and dispossessed of his patrimonial dominions. He died at Mentz in 1632. The Queen, who was a woman of excellent understanding and most amiable disposition, died in January 1661-2. "This night," (the 17th) says Evelyn, "was buried in Westminster Abbey the Queen of Bohemia, after all her sorrows and afflictions, being come to die in the arms of her nephew the King." — *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 188.

We were extremely shocked and concerned at the unexpected account which we received last post from Sir Richard Lyttelton and my brother Jemmy, of the death of poor Admiral West ⁽¹⁾, which I think a very great loss to us all and to the public likewise, having left few behind him (if any), so honest, so brave, and so capable, notwithstanding that his ill-fortune, and the oppression and injustice done him, followed him to his death. I most sincerely wish some comfort could be given to his poor wife, whom I have always heard esteemed a good and sensible woman under the most grievous and heaviest trials. Her only object must be her children, whose loss is inexpressible. The eldest son, young as he is, has some public merit of his own ⁽²⁾ as well as of his poor father's, to plead in his favour, and is of an age to be assisted. We are all perfectly well here. My wife desires to

(1) Admiral West, at the time of his death, was one of the lords of the admiralty. He was related to the Grenvilles, his mother being sister to Richard, Lord Cobham. He was brother to Gilbert West, the poet; of whom Dr. Johnson relates, that "he was often visited by Lyttelton and Pitt, who, when they were weary of faction and debates, used, at his very pleasant house at West Wickham in Kent, to find books and quiet, a decent table and literary conversation: there is at Wickham a walk made by Pitt, and, what is of far more importance, at Wickham Lyttelton received that conviction, which produced his 'Dissertation on St. Paul.'" — *Life of West*.

(2) This youth was severely wounded on board his father's ship, the Buckingham, during the engagement off Minorca, between Admirals Byng and Galissonnière, in May, 1756.

join with me in our kindest compliments to Lady Hester and to you, and I am,

Ever most affectionately yours, &c.

GEORGE GRENVILLE.

MR. PITT TO SIR BENJAMIN KEENE. (1)

(*Most secret and confidential.*)

Whitehall, August 23, 1757.

SIR,

THE most important and confidential matter which I have the honour of the King's commands to open in this dispatch to your excellency, and his Majesty's orders and instructions relating to the same herewith transmitted, cannot but affect your excellency with the deepest sense of the great and particular trust which the King is most graciously pleased to repose in your known experience and long approved abilities ; and it is greatly hoped that the state of your excellency's health will be found so well restored by the late use of medicinal waters, as to leave nothing more to desire for the proper and ablest discharge of a commission of such high moment, and which peculiarly demands the utmost circumspection, vigilance, delicacy, and address.

It is judged the most compendious and sure method of opening and conveying to your excellency with due clearness and precision, the scope

(1) British ambassador at the court of Madrid.

and end of the measure in question, to refer you to the minute itself, *in extenso*, unanimously approved by all his Majesty's servants consulted in his most secret affairs, and containing the sum and substance, as well as the grounds, of the King's royal intention in this violent and dangerous crisis, which minute is conceived in the following words, viz. —

“ Their lordships, having taken into consideration the formidable progress of the arms of France, and the danger to Great Britain and her allies resulting from a total subversion of the system of Europe, and more especially from the most pernicious extension of the influence of France, by the fatal admission of French garrisons into Ostend and Nieuport (¹), their lordships are most humbly of opinion, that nothing can so effectually tend, in the present unhappy circumstances, to the restoration of Europe in general, and in particular to the successful prosecution of the present just and necessary war, until a peace can be made on safe and honourable terms, as a more intimate union with the crown of Spain. In this necessary view their lordships most humbly submit their opinion to your Majesty's great wisdom — that overtures of a negociation should be set on foot with that court, in order to engage Spain, if possible, to join their arms to those of your Majesty, for the obtaining a

(¹) A few days prior to the date of this dispatch, intelligence had reached England, that Ostend and Nieuport had each of them, by order of her imperial majesty, received a French garrison.

just and honourable peace, and mainly for recovering and restoring to the crown of England the most important island of Minorca, with all the ports and fortresses of the same, as well as for re-establishing some solid system in Europe; and inasmuch as it shall be found necessary for the attaining these great and essential ends, to treat with the crown of Spain, as an effectual condition thereunto, concerning an exchange of Gibraltar for the island of Minorca, with the ports and fortresses thereof, their lordships are most humbly of an unanimous opinion, that the court of Spain should without loss of time be sounded with respect to their dispositions thereupon; and if the same shall be found favourable, that the said negociation should be carried forward and ripened for execution, with all possible dispatch and secrecy. Their lordships are farther of opinion, that satisfaction should be given to Spain on the complaints touching the establishment made by the subjects of England on the Mosquito shore, and in the bay of Honduras, since the treaty concluded at Aix la Chapelle, in October 1748, in order that all establishments so made be evacuated."

Your excellency being now informed, by the perusal of the above minute, of the views and consequence of the arduous and critical negociation committed to your care, it becomes necessary for your guidance therein, to furnish your excellency, by the several inclosures herewith transmitted by order of his Majesty, with such lights, informations,

and intelligences, concerning either the fatal events already come to pass, or the accumulating of more desperate mischiefs now meditating, and too probably impending, as will enable your excellency to form for yourself, far better than any deduction of mine can do, the melancholy picture of the present work.

Though his Majesty is so fully persuaded of your excellency's distinguished zeal for his service, that the suggestions of any considerations to animate you in this great work are entirely superfluous, yet it is impossible for me to pass in silence that affecting and calamitous part of the subversions of Europe, namely, the French conquests and desolations in Lower Saxony, which afford the afflicting spectacle of his Majesty's ancient patrimonial dominions, transmitted down with glory in his most illustrious house through a long series of centuries, now lying a prey to France; and still farther, the fatality of his Majesty's army of observation, now retiring under the orders of his Royal Highness ⁽¹⁾ to Stade, exposed to the most alarming uncertainties, whether even the royal magnanimity of his Majesty, seconded by the valour and ability of his Royal Highness, can find means to surmount the cruel necessity of receiving the law of the conqueror.

As it would be needless to lead your excellency farther on in this gloomy track of mortifying reflections, I will only observe, before I pass to the

(¹) The Duke of Cumberland.

execution of the plan now opened, that the day is come when the very inadequate benefits of the treaty of Utrecht, the indelible reproach of the last generation, are become the necessary, but almost unattainable wish of the present, when the empire is no more, the ports of the Netherlands betrayed, the Dutch Barrier treaty an empty sound, Minorca, and with it, the Mediterranean lost, and America itself precarious.

From this state of things, calamitous as it is, your excellency has a fresh proof that nothing can ever shake his Majesty's firmness, or abate one moment his royal concern for the glory of his crown, and the rights of his kingdoms; nor can any events withdraw the necessary attention of his Majesty's consummate wisdom from the proper interests of Europe, or divert his generous cares from endeavouring to prevent the final overthrow of all Europe, and independency amongst the powers of the continent. In this salutary view it is that the King has, in his great prudence, come to a resolution of ordering the dispositions of the court of Madrid, in this alarming conjuncture, to be sounded; and, as the same shall be found favourable, a negotiation to be, without loss of time, opened on the grounds and to the ends contained in the minute above recited. The King is pleased to repose such confidence in your excellency's ability and perfect knowledge of the court of Madrid, that his Majesty judges it unnecessary to send you particular orders and instructions as to the method

and manner of breaking this idea, or presenting it, at the first view, in lights the most likely to captivate the several characters and passions of the court with which you have to deal. It is hoped, however, that the Spanish dignity, and natural feelings of the Duke of Alva may, on this occasion, coincide with the great transcendant interest of Spain, who can no longer indulge the little, false, selfish interest of a lucrative but inglorious and dangerous neutrality, at the expense of the subjection of Europe, without weakly and shamefully renouncing her wise and so much boasted capital maxim of reviving and re-establishing the independency and lustre of the Spanish monarchy. Nor can Mr. Wall fail to discern, how particularly it imports a minister to embrace with ardour the national and darling point of honour of the crown he serves. These considerations, amongst many others, give reasonable grounds to hope that the court of Spain, whatever its present unpromising complexion may be, cannot suffer itself to be surprised and captivated by any alluring offer made, or to be made, on the part of France ; it being self-evident, that all such offers, however dazzling, can be nothing but the price of a dependence in security and dishonour.

I must not here omit, in obedience to the King's commands, to open farther to your excellency a very material concomitant branch of the measure in view, and naturally springing from it, which, as it concerns so nearly the interest and favourite

wishes of the presumptive successor of the crown of Spain may, it is hoped, in your excellency's hands prove a source from which your address may possibly derive facility to your negociation, and add essential strength to the execution of a belligerent plan, should your excellency be so happy as to succeed in so great a work. This favourite object of the King of the Two Sicilies, conformable to his non-accession to the treaty of Aranjuez, can be no other but the securing to his second son the eventual succession to the kingdom his Sicilian Majesty now enjoys, in case he shall hereafter come to mount the throne of Spain. The King is of opinion, that it is of the highest importance that your excellency should endeavour (inasmuch as there shall appear daylight in the negociation above pointed out) to penetrate the disposition of the King and royal family of Spain, as well as of the Spanish nation, with respect to such a contingent event; and I am commanded by his Majesty to recommend to your excellency the greatest address and circumspection in expressing and touching so delicate a matter, concerning which we are much in the dark, and which so intimately and personally concerns the interests, and affects the domestic passions, of so many crowned heads and princes of Spain.

With regard to the court of Turin, from a situation and connection so essential to any plan that concerns Italy, it is superfluous to observe to your excellency, that every consideration dictates an

extreme caution and reserve in bringing their name in question, till things shall be in some degree ripening; and, whenever that shall be the case, the more the pride of Spain is left to take the lead and call on the powers of Italy to co-operate with her, the better, probably, the views of his Majesty may be answered, in rendering the conditions of a firm and affectionate ally, the King of Sardinia, more advantageous to that prince, and beneficial to the future system of Europe.

It may be useful to add here, that we understand, on very good grounds, the just umbrage the court of Naples takes at the dangerous designs of the House of Austria, whose plan of power in Italy is visibly this, to render incommunicable the states of the Kings of the Two Sicilies and Sardinia, by cutting Italy in two, and possessing a contiguity of territory, from the Tuscan sea to Saxony and to Belgrade.

I am now, before I close this long dispatch, to discharge his Majesty's particular commands, by recommending to your excellency, in the strongest manner, to use the utmost precaution and circumspection in the overture of this conditional idea with regard to Gibraltar, lest it should hereafter come, although Spain shall decline the sole condition of such intimacy, to be construed into a promise to restore that place to his Catholic Majesty; and your excellency will take especial care, through the whole course of the transaction relating to Gibraltar, to weigh and measure every

expression with the utmost precision of language, so as to put it beyond the possibility of the most captious and sophistical interpretation to wrest and torture this insinuation of an exchange on the sole terms above expressed, into a revival and renewal of any former pretended engagement, with respect to the cession of that place ; and for greater and clearer indication of matters of this extreme importance, I am (though unnecessarily) expressly to acquaint your excellency, that the King can, in no supposed case, ever entertain the thought of putting Gibraltar into the hands of Spain, until that court, by a junction of their arms with those of his Majesty, shall actually and effectually recover and restore to the crown of England the island of Minorca, with all its fortresses and harbours.

With regard to that part of the minute, concerning the establishment made by British subjects on the Mosquito shore and in the bay of Honduras, your excellency will observe, on the perusal of the inclosed copy of M. d'Abreu's last memorial on that subject, that, notwithstanding the generality of that paper, yet, towards the conclusion of the same, that minister expressly gives to understand, that his court would, for the present, content themselves with the evacuation of the Mosquito shore, and the recent establishments in the bay of Honduras ; which he has explained himself to mean, those made, as expressed in the minute, since the conclusion of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle. I am sorry to find it necessary at this time to mention

again to your excellency the King's great anxiety for the property of his subjects concerned in the Antigallican's prize, which, from the known equity of his Catholic Majesty, the King trusts will receive a decision agreeable to justice and the friendships subsisting between the two crowns.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS PITT, ESQ.

St. James's Square, August 28, 1757.

MY DEAR NEPHEW,

NOTHING can give me greater pleasure than the approaching conclusion of a happy reconciliation in the family. Your letter to * * * is the properest that can be imagined, and, I doubt not, will make the deepest impression in his heart. I have been in much pain for you during all this unseasonable weather, and am still apprehensive, till I have the satisfaction of hearing from you, that your course of sea-bathing has been interrupted by such gusts of wind as must have rendered the sea too rough an element for a convalescent to disport in. I trust, my dearest nephew, that opening scenes of domestic comfort and family affection will confirm and augment every hour the benefits you are receiving at Brighthelmston from external and internal medical assistances. Lady Hester and Aunt

Mary⁽¹⁾ join with me in all good wishes for your health and happiness. The duplicate * * * mentions having addressed to me, has never come to hand.

I am, with truest affection, my dearest nephew,
Ever yours,

W. PITT.

THOMAS POTTER, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Ridgmont, September 11, 1757.

DEAR SIR,

You have received from the Duke of Bedford particular accounts of the disturbances which have happened in this county from the attempts to carry into execution the militia act.⁽²⁾ You have a right to expect from me information of all important circumstances which come under my observation, but when I know that you receive the information from those whose situation gives them

(1) Mr. Pitt's youngest sister, who died in December 1787 unmarried.

(2) "The new militia bill occasioned great disturbances. Riots were raised in several counties; the lists were forced by violence from the magistrates; Lord Robert Sutton was in danger of his life at Nottingham; the Duke of Bedford's house, near Bedford, was threatened to be demolished; the Duke of Dorset was attacked at Knowle; the Speaker himself was insulted at Guilford, and menaced in his own house at Ember-court, and could not disperse the insurrection but by promising no further steps should be taken till the next session of parliament. Under these difficulties did Mr. Pitt begin to exert his newly acquired power, and to give symptoms of more vigorous government."

— *Walpole's Geo. II.* vol. ii. p. 233.

a right to send it, it misbecomes me to trouble you with unnecessary packets. The Duke of Bedford has left the country, Lord Ossory ⁽¹⁾ is gone with him, and Lord Royston, who is the lieutenant of Cambridgeshire, has declined attending the meetings of the deputies and magistrates of this county. Considering the stake I have in this county, and the very active part I have found it necessary to take for the restoring the public peace and keeping the people within the bounds of their duty, it will not, I believe, be thought presumption, either by you or my neighbours, if I now take upon myself the further conduct of this business, and the execution of any commands which Government may think proper to give, in relation either to the past or future transactions.

✓ Nothing can exceed the terror and apprehensions which the militia act has occasioned. Murmuring and uneasiness would have arisen from the particular provisions of the law, and the hardships which might have happened from it to individuals; but the foundation of the violence used to prevent the execution of the act was a persuasion that every man, the moment he was enrolled, would be, or was liable to be draughted out into the King's forces, and sent abroad. It was in vain to urge, in answer to this, the express words of the act of Parliament; it was in vain that men, the most respected and most beloved in their country,

(1) John, first Earl of Upper Ossory, member for the county of Bedford. He died in the following year.

offered to engage their private faith, that no militia-man could or would be sent out of England. The reply constantly was, and it was in the mouths of the women and children, "We cannot believe in this particular, for in this particular even the King's word has been broke; soldiers were raised in Huntingdonshire last year for Abercrombie's regiment, and we hear that the same happened in many other counties; the word and honour of the gentlemen of the country was given in the King's name that they should not go abroad, but were only to be soldiers at home, to fight against the French, and the moment they had taken the oaths they were hurried away from their country, we know not whither."

This is now the universal language, not only of the meaner people, but of the substantial farmers and yeomen of the country, under whose encouragement, and even in whose pay, the inferior people now rise in rebellion. Yet in this county, though the discontent was universal, the violences, I verily believe, would not have rose to any height but from the unparalleled timidity of those who were the objects of the first attempts. I speak this from what has happened to myself. If I had flown from the country and sent away my family, encouragement would have been given to those who were disposed to commit violences. The contrary conduct has kept every thing quiet in these parts; I have rode alone and unarmed into every assembly, and my presence and my persuasions, or

at least my threats when they were necessary, have soon dispersed the meeters.

The Duke of Bedford has acted as became him, and has shown great spirit and activity, joined to great prudence and consideration. On Friday last he met the deputy-lieutenants and magistrates at Bedford : great apprehensions were entertained by the timid, of the violences to be committed that day, and there were found men of rank who confined themselves to their houses, lest, by coming to the meeting, they should be the objects of resentment. Yet the only insurrection of that day I quieted with my own servants, the high sheriff, and ten of his javelin-men, and a party of ten light horsemen from Hawley's dragoons. It being, however, impossible to drag every man from his home to enroll him, and it being the general resolution of the persons on whom the lot had fallen not to come till compelled by force, it was judged expedient not to give up the execution of the law, as was done in other counties, but to postpone the meetings of the magistrates for the enrollment to the end of November. In the meantime, we circulate a paper signed by the lieutenant, the high sheriff, and such magistrates as dare to set their names, in order to explain the true meaning of the act ; and we have engaged in our respective divisions to use our influence with the individuals who will hear reason, and to explain the true meaning and intention of the law. We have taken this method, not from an imagination that this law, as it now

stands, can ever be executed, but in order to save the honour of Government, and to quiet the minds of people, which this unhappy event has very much disturbed.

We had another point under our consideration at Bedford. The mob which insulted Sir Roger Burgoyne and Colonel Lee not only committed violence to the public-house at Biggleswade, the landlord of which spiritedly refused to deliver up the lists of men left in his custody, but they extorted money from several persons, and in particular from a clergyman, who was no magistrate, nor concerned in the execution of the law, but it seems had from his pulpit recommended obedience to the laws. In this mob it is said there are men of substance, and their names are known, and there is sufficient evidence for their conviction. We thought it not only expedient, but absolutely necessary, that public examples should be made from among the most guilty of these men; but as the same offences may have been committed in other counties, and perhaps have been general, we thought it our duty to delay further proceedings till the King's ministers should come to some resolutions about the measures to be taken.

It is on this head that I shall be ready to receive and execute the commands of Government; and I take the liberty in this manner to offer my services, because it is possible that those commands may fall into hands which are liable to be affected

by fear, and may therefore fail in the execution of them. Believe me to be, dear Sir,

Your most obedient

and obliged friend and servant,

THOMAS POTTER.

SIR BENJAMIN KEENE TO MR. PITT.

(*Private.*)

Madrid, September 26, 1757.

SIR,

EVERY letter, public or private, I have the honour to receive from you increases the pain I suffer at my present unlucky situation. I should have been glad to have waded across the present stream by your guidance and direction, and have patiently expected the consequences of this alarming jumble of affairs; but my ill-fortune has deprived me of my health and strength at the period of my life and my labours when I have most occasion for them. You will not be surprised at my instances, when I can safely assure you, I know not what it is to pass two days together in tolerable health. I kept complaints to myself as long as I could, but when the service was postponed or retarded on my account, it was high time to ask the remedy, and to desire your aid in procuring it, which I hope you will favour me with.

I do not recollect any thing to add to what goes

in my public letters. Give me leave to conclude,
with the assurances of the sentiments of truth and
respect with which I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most humble and

most obedient servant

B. KEENE.

SIR BENJAMIN KEENE TO MR. PITT. ⁽¹⁾

(Most secret and confidential.)

Madrid, September 26, 1757.

SIR,

I SHALL now hasten to give you an account of
the execution of the important commission with
which I am charged by his Majesty, in the honour

⁽¹⁾ With this masterly picture of the state and disposition of the court of Madrid at the time of Mr. Pitt's accession to office, the long diplomatic career of this valuable public servant may be said to have closed. In the following month, while preparing to return to England, with a view of retiring from public employment, and of being created a British peer, Sir Benjamin was taken seriously ill; and, on the 15th of December, he died at Madrid. From his skill as a minister, and his many amiable personal qualities, he had succeeded in gaining the esteem of all parties. So early as 1741, Horace Walpole describes him as "one of the best kind of agreeable men, quite fat and easy with universal knowledge." He was the eldest son of Charles Keene, Esq., of Lynn in Norfolk, and brother of Dr. Edmund Keene, bishop of Chester, and afterwards of Ely, to whom he left the bulk of his fortune. His remains were brought over from Madrid, and buried at Lynn, near those of his parents.

of your most secret and confidential dispatch of the 23rd of August, received by the messenger Evans, on the 10th instant.

I have most seriously weighed and combined together the different parts and branches of that dispatch. The touching portrait you have made of the present unhappy state of Europe, the particular misfortunes which lie so heavy upon those parts of it wherein his Majesty is so nearly concerned, the mischiefs we feel, and those we have but too much reason to fear as impending over us — such motives, Sir, joined to the true sense of the honour of being intrusted with a commission calculated to put an end to such calamities, have not failed to animate my zeal for the public good, and to warm an ambition in me, to be instrumental in the completion of so great a work.

By several expressions in your dispatch you appear sufficiently informed of the present unfavourable complexion of this court; which, being but too true, I have considered, with more care than ordinary, the most proper manner of procuring an attentive reception of the insinuation I had to make to the Spanish minister. I obtained it by a previous conversation I had with him, under the pretence of asking an hour more at his leisure, and I was not mistaken when I imagined that, if I gave him an opportunity of venting his passion in this short conversation, I should hear less of it in the more important one I had asked of him. As what passed at this visit is applicable, in great measure, to our

subsequent interview, I shall take the liberty to acquaint you that he bewailed, in a warm fluency of words, his uneasy and dangerous situation, which he attributed to the usage he had met with from those he had desired to serve. Two points (not to trouble you with disagreeable, wandering narrations) were uppermost in his mind. The insults Spain had met with from our privateers, whereof, he said, not a single one had been chastised during the two years in which they had lorded it over her coasts and subjects, neither sparing their properties nor their lives. "What could he" (Mr. Wall) "say to the reproaches that fell upon him from all parts, in excuse or alleviation of such grievances? The form of our government might be something to those who knew or cared for it; but who were they in Spain, who did either? on the contrary, the general way of reasoning was, what friendship could be cultivated or preserved with a nation, that could not, or would not, chastise its notorious delinquents."

The next point was upon what he called, our usurpations in America; when he ran out pretty largely, and did not spare his minister Abreu for soliciting an answer to his memorial on that subject; which, he said, he ought to have left to our choice to give or not. The other parts of this minister's conduct did not escape the censure of his principal; but it was not for being too active or lively in his proceedings with his Majesty's ministers. As my design was to let him satisfy his passion now, I

contented myself with short answers, and he appointed me to meet him the next morning pretty early at his apartment, and not in his office.

I was punctual to his time, and addressed myself in a manner to revive our old friendship and confidence. I told him he had been a little warm the day before, but surely the unaffected deferring the punishment of some villains on either side was not an object to stop the greater views and ideas that these calamitous times might make necessary for our courts to take into their consideration. He broke out again: — “Not a single villain to have been punished in two years! how can I support myself? You,” says he, “know this country as well as myself; how can I hold up my head?” But not to go on in the old round, I told him that, as to that other point of his grief, and his resentment against us, on what he called the usurpation, I had all the reason imaginable to be persuaded he would receive satisfaction by the first courier M. d’Abreu dispatched to him.

I beg leave, in this place, to give an account of the reasons of my proceeding in mentioning this point to the Spanish minister. It is, indeed, made part of the opinion of the council, and follows the great conditional proposal to this court; but its being so widely different in its nature, and having no connection with that important point, otherwise than as a means, not a condition, for entering into a closer union with Spain, I thought proper to make use of it as *such*, in order to put the minister in a

better disposition to hear what I had further to say to him.

It was here that he again blamed Abreu, and entered into a detail with me of what had happened from the time he told me that the King, out of regard to our circumstances with France, was willing to remit those disputed points to a friendly determination between the two courts. “What had been done by us since that time? not so much as a memorial answered! What calumny had not been raised against him by the council, for agreeing to submit to a discussion, matters so evidently the property of the crown of Spain, whose rights had been invalidated by such a concession!” In a word, Sir, that I may not be too prolix in particulars on this point of restitutions, I may collect the whole in presuming, that I believe Spain will endeavour to do herself, what she calls, justice, if she thinks we do not; for such I take the meaning of Mr. Wall to have been, when he let drop the following expressions, “that, on several occasions and epochs, the Spanish governors, in virtue of their usual orders and instructions to defend the territories committed to their charge, had driven the English logwood cutters, and other intruders, out of the places of their labour and residence, without imputation of having committed any act of hostility against Great Britain; on the contrary, the two nations had continued in friendship till, in the course of time, by the negligence of Spanish governors, and the artifices of the logwood cutters,

the latter crept back again into their huts on the rocks and lakes, which gave room to new disputes. That Spain had fourteen sail of ships of war at sea, and could add six more to them when she pleased."

Before I finish this article about restitution of American possessions, I beg leave to acquaint you, that when I informed Mr. Wall of the satisfaction M. d'Abreu would have on this point, I did not think fit to mention that gentleman's concession with regard to the epoch from whence the possessions in question were to be restored for the present; and I find likewise that, in the last letter M. d'Abreu has written on his conferences with his Majesty's ministers, he mentions nothing of those limitations, or his having agreed to any facilities of the kind. I left therefore this matter to take its course.

I ask pardon for so long a preamble; but I knew not how to give his Majesty a true idea of the dispositions of things and persons here without the trouble of such a previous detail, before I should go on to lay before the King my proceedings upon the important orders with which I had been honoured. I have already mentioned my endeavours to procure some sort of return of the old friendship and confidence between Mr. Wall and myself, in which I was not entirely unsuccessful; and, as I flatter myself you will believe, I did my best endeavours to set your instructions in the true light, and to accommodate them to the temper and disposition of the person to whom I

addressed them : it will be superfluous to acquaint you how I opened to him the great scenes of misfortunes with which Europe was oppressed, its liberties destroyed, and the only remedy for putting a stop to these calamities, the glory and advantage whereof would redound to his Catholic Majesty, in whose power it was to bring this great object to bear.

Let me beg leave to assure you, that when by the course of my conversation to him, which was fair and friendly, I came to the insinuation (for I would not call it a proposition at its first birth) of the recompense Spain would receive for joining her arms to those of his Majesty, in order to put the King in possession of the island of Minorca, with all its ports and fortresses, which recompense was nothing less than the long-wished-for restitution of Gibraltar, I used all the precaution you were pleased to prescribe to me, in not giving any handle to Spain, to add new pretensions, or force to antiquated ones, from any hint or expression on my part. I have used greater brevity, in giving his Majesty an account of the part I have acted on this delicate occasion, in order to come to what is much more material for his Majesty's knowledge ; I mean, the manner in which Mr. Wall received this insinuation and *presentiment* of the idea of his court.

The weight of the business gained the attention it deserved : his lively imagination wanted no information of the wretched circumstances in which

Europe was near overwhelmed at present ; nor did his memory want to be refreshed by my recapitulating to him the noble maxim he proposed to follow, when he first came into office. After running through both these subjects with great precision, he replied to my insinuation about the conditional restitution of Gibraltar with a cool politeness, “that I knew he was a stranger in this country, and *alone*, without aid or support from any of his colleagues, whose inclinations, as well as the general bent of the nation, he believed were not for entering into a war against France in our favour.” He accused England of ruining the credit he might have had with this nation, if we had supported him by acts of justice and attention, though we should have strained a point to serve him—a credit, he said, that would have been warmly employed for the service of both crowns, notwithstanding all the suspicions his birth and education might have exposed him to ; but both the one and the other made but weak impressions on a mind that, by the experience and knowledge it had gained in England, saw that he could not better repay his obligations to Spain, than by cultivating a sincere friendship between her and England : and I thought I observed something of a regret, either that this proposition should come too late, or in circumstances when he would not or dared not, make use of it.

You will blame the length of my letter, if I charge it with more particularities than are neces-

sary for his Majesty's forming a true idea of what has passed here ; I shall therefore cut short in this place, since there needs no farther addition, to show Mr. Wall's resolution not to charge himself with, nor mention, much less support, the entering into the vigorous measures that the execution of this project required ; neither did he give me the least room to think (but quite the contrary), that he would take notice of it to his master, or to his colleagues. Whoever is here upon the spot, Sir, will see and bewail the indifference with which the present situation of Europe is regarded in the highest places at this court, and how easily their thoughts are diverted from such interesting objects, and employed in very trivial occasions, of which I could give you fresh instances. And whoever sees the nature of this administration, will be but too well convinced, that there is neither spirit, activity, or union of sentiments amongst them, to flatter himself of their daring to propose, on any account whatever, the drawing the sword against the French, in favour of heretics, to those who, I presume, will rather look out for excuses to cover their tameness, than means to support their honour and independency.

I make these reflections, Sir, in order to reply to that part of your dispatch, wherein you are pleased to mention my addressing myself to the characters and passions of such of the court as I have to deal with. They are all of them reduced to Mr. Wall alone. There are four secretaries of

state, who are chiefs in their separate departments : he that is charged with the state affairs has nothing to do with the marine, war, or finances ; and were I to address myself to either of the latter on such subjects as the present, they would shrug up their shoulders, and set me worse than I am with Mr. Wall, for this unusual suspicious application. The Duke of Alva has been long absent from court, and has permission still to prolong his absence : he seems tired of meddling in political affairs. The King loves him, but the Queen does not care to trust or confide in his influence over her royal consort, and cuts it short ; nor will she allow of too great a harmony between the rest of the ministers.

It would be a task above the present state of my strength to give you a thorough description of this court. I will only say in general, that the secretary of war, Eslava, led by some warm-headed young relations, is rather inclined to war against us ; the marine secretary, Ariaga, would have no war at all, but in case of one, rather against us than for us ; and the Count de Valparaiso, who has the finances, would rather increase his treasure, and not employ it, either for or against us. Give me leave, therefore, Sir, to refer it to your better judgment, whether from those qualities, either of ministers or principals, it would not be illusion in me, to flatter myself with raising the least spark of that generous spirit, which Spain has so great and noble an opportunity of ex-

erting or her own good, and for that of the public.

Permit me, Sir, at present to say a word or two in answer to that idea, which is proposed as a concomitant branch of the measure in view;—I mean, the facilitating the designs and desires of the King of the two Sicilies, to secure to his second son the possession of those kingdoms, in case he should mount the throne of Spain. That matter is, indeed, unhappily out of the question, by the non-attention or refusal of the great point now offered to the consideration of Spain. But, in the supposition of a negotiation begun upon it, I believe it would not have been agreeable to the King of Spain to have heard any mention made of his brother of the two Sicilies by England, or any other foreign power whatever. Those matters are looked on by this court as family concerns, in which no others are to meddle. The King of Spain expects submission to his will and example, and Don Carlos does not care to make the figure of a sort of vassal. From these different principles, the two courts are not always in the best humour with each other. The two kings write to one another by every courier, but they never talk of their affairs; their letters are only accounts of the game they have killed in the foregoing week. It has happened accidentally, since I received the honour of your despatch, that I have been authentically informed, that when the Neapolitan ambassador has made application to this court on the subject before us, he has been

told, that surely the King of Naples may be content with the crown of Spain, in the same manner his elder brother now wears it.

As to the opinion of the generality of the Spanish nation, with respect to the succession of Naples, it is, that those dominions should revert to the crown of Spain, as being conquered by its arms and treasure, and that the late king and his queen had not power or right to separate it from the monarchy.

It is time I should come to the last period of this tentative upon the court of Spain, to support her own independency with that of the rest of Europe; and I am sorry to add, that if the foregoing part of this letter gave no hopes of success in that attempt, what now follows will be a much stronger confirmation of their repugnance, or rather absolute refusal, to come into such salutary measures.

On the 19th instant, I received a note from M. Wall desiring to see me before the French ordinary departed that evening. It was to communicate to me a long letter he had received, in figures, from M. d'Abreu, which he read to me in a very grave manner, telling me he would spare me the pain of hearing any of his observations upon it; the facts would be sufficient. They were reduced, as well as I remember, to three: his mentioning the hints given him by part of his Majesty's servants, that he should have a favourable answer to his memorial upon the affair of the Mosquito shore, and of Honduras: to this M. Wall said, he had done wrong

to speak of it to our ministry any more; had he (Wall) been in England, he should have left it entirely to their pleasure. The second point was upon the interpretation of the treaty of 1667, with regard to contraband goods, and our retracting from that interpretation, with respect to French East India goods. The third related to the not punishing our privateers after all the fair words that had been given to Spain. On all these points, M. Wall has written him a very sharp letter, accusing his lukewarm conduct; which I apprehend will sharpen his expressions still more than those he has hitherto made use of.

I gained but little by endeavouring to set these lesser matters in a true light, in opposing them to the greater objects in view; but it was much more easy to irritate than convince. “Are these times and circumstances,” said he, “to talk on such points as the liberties of Europe and a closer union with Spain, when you have given *us* so much room to be dissatisfied with you? and not only *us*, but your enemies the French and the Austrians, who are continually blowing up the coals against you, for your behaviour towards *us*? What worse can happen to *us*, when the liberties of Europe are gone, than what you do to us? If we are to be despised, let it be by the strong, and by our own blood and relations; and what are we to expect from you in your successes, if such is your treatment in the present state of your affairs? You may possibly make peace; and I hear there

are already some overtures made to France,—perhaps,” says he, “by the Danish minister, who is lately arrived there; but,” continued he, “I shall leave it as a legacy, not to be friends with England after her peace with France, if we have not satisfaction for the complaints I have mentioned;” hinting, that we might be mistaken if we thought ourselves secure from the resentment of Spain, if we made up our affairs with France.

What shall I say, Sir, in excuse for this long disagreeable letter, unless that, in answer to such a commission as I was honoured with, it was necessary his Majesty should see every step that I have taken, and the unfruitful effects of them, which I have chosen to lay before the King, rather in M. Wall’s own words and manner, than by my conception of his meaning; and from them will best appear what is to be hoped or apprehended from this country.

Sure I am that I need not say a word of the pride and honour I should have been covered with, if, in this late part of my life, my little fortune and abilities had not met with such insurmountable obstacles in the execution of his Majesty’s commands; but since I have not had that happiness, I beg leave to repeat my most humble prayers to his Majesty, that the King would be graciously pleased to grant me that relief, which nothing but the uncertain and bad state of health that frequently renders me incapable of satisfying my zeal for his royal service could ever have obliged me to

request, as long as his Majesty should have thought proper to accept my poor services at the court where I reside.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect,

Sir, your &c. &c.

B. KEENE.

THOMAS POTTER, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Bath, October 11, 1757.

DEAR SIR,

I AM sorry to tell you that at Bristol, and all this country, the discontent at the sudden return of the fleet⁽¹⁾ rises to a degree, and points to a place which makes me tremble. It is to no purpose to talk of the misconduct of the officers concerned. The people carry their resentments higher. They will not be persuaded, that this pacific disposition was not a preliminary for the convention of Stade.⁽²⁾ They have been told, that an express was sent out after Hawke, that it arrived when the boats were prepared to land the soldiers, and that immediately, in consequence of it, orders were given to re-embark. They say this has been done with-

(1) From the expedition against Rochfort.

(2) Generally denominated the convention of Closter-Seven, concluded, on the 8th of September, by the Duke of Cumberland with Marshal Richelieu, by which his Royal Highness agreed, for himself and his army not to serve again against the French during the war.

out your knowledge, and that Mr. F——, when he was lately here, prophesied this event, as he might well do, knowing the private instructions which were about that time sent out. They think it impossible that without private instructions men, hitherto of good reputation, employed on an expedition universally judged practicable, and provided with every thing necessary to carry it into execution, should have failed so grossly in their duty to their country and themselves.

This, you may depend, is the language not of a few, but of all this country and the city of Bristol. It becomes me to inform you of it, that proper measures may be taken to obviate what may be attended with such dreadful consequences. It is even added, that another express is gone to Holbourne, carrying the same pacific orders.

Your truly faithful

THO. POTTER.

WILLIAM BECKFORD, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Fonthill, Oct. 22, 1757.

DEAR SIR,

It gave me great pleasure to find, by your favour of the 18th instant, that there was no seeming want of bodily health, which is what, I confess, has given me the greatest uneasiness; for as to health, vigour, and fortitude of mind, no man enjoys it in a greater degree than yourself. This is a blessing few have

the comfort of: it gives cheerfulness, affords resources in misfortunes, and prevents despair. I wish I could say as much of some of your associates, who are constantly croaking to the world, the weakness of Great Britain and the strength of France. Not long before the event of the late expedition was known, certain personages of some distinction whom I saw, ridiculed all our late measures, and declared we must submit to peace, since we had starved the cause in Germany; but the quarter from whence this language came did not surprise me.

I hear by accounts that I think may be depended on, that Admiral Hawke says, the land general has acted in a very unbecoming manner, and will declare his sentiments to parliament. I hope he will, that, if possible, the mystery may be unravelled. I have often lamented the fatality attending conjunct commands.⁽¹⁾ The French avoid this in all their expeditions; for rank is perfectly

(1) On the 4th of November, Lord Chesterfield thus writes to his son:—"The day after we had taken the island of Aix, your friend Colonel Wolfe publicly offered to do the business with five hundred men, and three ships only. In all these complicated machines, there are so many wheels within wheels, that it is always difficult, and sometimes impossible, to guess which of them gives direction to the whole. Mr. Pitt is convinced that the principal wheel, or if you will, *spoke* in the wheel, came from Stade." Sir John Barrow, in his recent *Life of Lord Howe*, says,—"Whether or not Captain Howe was satisfied with the proceedings of the military no where appears; but in after life he was explicit on this point, that a *conjunct expedition* is rarely well conducted—in which opinion Nelson entirely concurred."—P. 36.

settled amongst the officers in the land and sea service, and the eldest commission carries the command. I wish we had it in our power to act in the same manner, and that as little latitude as possible might be given to our instruments of execution.

We are truly sick at heart ; but the constitution is good. I think of the public, as I do of a robust patient, — get it but out of the hands of quacks, and it will recover of itself. To attack and destroy one of the principal naval arsenals and docks of France was a noble project : success in the undertaking would have made amends for all our losses and disappointments. I do from my soul believe, that if courage or conduct had not been wanting, we must have succeeded. Heaven and earth seemed to favour us.

It is to be wished, rather than hoped, that something might be undertaken, decisive in its consequences ; for if we go on in our military operations as we have begun, we shall be ruined, by being beat and baffled in detail. Cape Breton, the only port the French have in all the Atlantic, seems to be the object : the greater naval force they have there, the greater influence will such a conquest have. Let them make what efforts they will, Great Britain is able to send a greater ; and such a one as may ensure success, provided a commander can be found that has courage and capacity equal to the undertaking.(¹) Excuse, dear Sir, these reveries

(¹) Such commanders were *speedily* found in General Am-

from a man confined to his cell. However, I hope to recover my liberty in a few days. I now find myself better, and will, if alive, pay my respects to you at the meeting of Parliament.

I find the city⁽¹⁾ very uneasy at our late miscarriage. It seems desirous either to address the King, or apply to Parliament, but nothing was determined when I received my last letters. I am with the greatest respect, dear Sir,

Your most obedient

and faithful humble servant,

W. BECKFORD.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS PITT, ESQ.

St. James's Square, October 27, 1757.

DEAR NEPHEW,

INCLOSED is a letter from * * * *, which came in one to me. I heartily wish the contents may be agreeable to you.

herst and Admiral Boscawen, who, on the 2d of June in the following year appeared before Louisburgh, with a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail and fourteen thousand men, and, on the 26th of July made themselves masters of the place.

(1) "The city of London talk very treason, and, connecting the suspension at Stade with this disappointment, cry out that the general had positive orders to do nothing, in order to obtain gentler treatment of Hanover. They intend in a violent manner to demand redress, and are too enraged to let any part of this affair remain a mystery." — *Horace Walpole to H.S. Conway*, Oct. 13, 1757. ✓

I am far from being satisfied, my dearest nephew, with the account your last letter to my sister gives of your health. I had formed the hope of your ceasing to be an invalid before this time; but since you must submit to be one for this winter, I am comforted to find your strength is not impaired, as it used to be, by the returns of illness you sometimes feel: and I trust the good government you are under, and the fortitude and manly resignation you are possessed of, will carry you well through this trial of a young man's patience, and bring you out in spring, like gold, the better for the proof. I rejoice to hear you have a friend of great merit to be with you. My warmest wishes for your health and happiness never fail to follow you. Lady Hester desires her best compliments. Believe me, with the truest affection,

Ever yours,

W. PITT.⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ This is the last of the series of letters addressed by Mr. Pitt to his nephew, during his studies at Cambridge. In 1759, Mr. Thomas Pitt was admitted to the degree of M. A., *per literas regias*, and in February, 1760, he visited Portugal in the suite of Lord Kinnoul, British ambassador to the court of Lisbon, and, accompanied by his college companion, the Earl of Strathmore, made a tour through Spain. An interesting account of their travels, under the title of "Observations on a Tour to Portugal and Spain, 1760, by John Earl of Strathmore, and Thomas Pitt, Esq." will be found in the forty-fourth volume of Cole's MSS., in the British Museum. Horace Walpole, in a letter to Sir Horace Mann, British minister at the court of Turin, dated February 3, 1766, recommends Mr. Thomas Pitt to his notice, in the following terms:—"Young Mr. Pitt, nephew of *the* Pitt, is setting out for Lisbon with

DR. WARBURTON TO MR. PITT.

November 21, 1757.

HONOURED SIR,

I HAVE been endeavouring to pay my duty to you before I left town, and engaged Mr. Potter to assist me in it; but no fit opportunity has offered. Give me leave then, good Sir, to have recourse to this readiest expression of my heart, to declare the warm sense of my obligations to you. But of these, that which I shall always esteem the greatest, let me boast, was your confidence of my devotion to you, when you supposed that I should refuse this late preferment⁽¹⁾, if not given to you in

Lord Kinnoul, and will proceed through Granada to Italy, with his friend Lord Strathmore. The latter is much commended; I don't know him. Mr. Pitt is not only a most ingenious young man, but a most amiable one: he has already acted in the most noble style—I don't mean that he took a quarter of Quebec, or invaded a bit of France, or has spoken in the House of Commons better than Demosthenes's nephew; but he has insisted on glorious cuttings off of entails on himself, that his father's debts might be paid, and his sisters provided for. My own lawyer, who knew nothing of my being acquainted with him, spoke to me of him in raptures. You will now conceive that a letter I have given Mr. Pitt is not a mere matter of form, but an earnest suit to you, to know one you will like so much. I should indeed have given it him, were it only to furnish you with an opportunity of ingratiating yourself with Mr. Pitt's nephew; but I address *him* to *your* heart."—Vol. iii. p. 333.

(¹) On the 11th of October, Dr. Warburton, at the recommendation of Mr. Pitt, had been promoted to the Deanery of Bristol.

such a manner as became the dignity of your character and station to accept. This flattering circumstance—for such it was to me—I happened to be made acquainted with; and the honour done me in it was so noble and like yourself, that I shall ever esteem it the highest of my obligations to your goodness.

I am, honoured Sir, with the truest devotion and attachment,

Your most obliged
and most faithful servant,
W. WARBURTON.

MR. PITT TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(*Secret.*)

Whitehall, November 26, 1757.

MY LORD,

THE honour of your Grace's letter of the 17th instant, with its inclosures, and also the resolutions of the House of Commons of the 1st instant, relating to pensions, transmitted therewith at the desire of that House, were received on Tuesday last, and have been laid before his Majesty, for his royal consideration. ⁽¹⁾

(¹) On the death of the King's sister, the Queen Dowager of Prussia, who had privately received a pension of 800*l.* a year out of the Irish establishment, the Duke of Bedford obtained

The orders your Grace will have received from the King, in my letter of the 18th instant, to transmit the said resolutions of the House to be laid before his Majesty, will have entirely removed the anxious doubts your Grace's zeal for the King's service had made you entertain, with regard to his Majesty's approbation of your complying, purely and simply, with the desires of the House on this unfortunate occasion.

The picture your Grace has given of parties in Ireland; the great fermentation of spirits in that kingdom, and their aptitude, in such critical circumstances, to kindle into higher and more mischievous heats and asperities, cannot but have made due impressions on his Majesty; and has given room, by the King's order, to the most serious deliberations of his servants on the several parts of your Grace's important letter, and on the most salutary and efficacious methods of allaying present

it for his wife's sister, Lady Betty Waldegrave. No sooner did the Irish parliament meet, than the House of Commons passed sundry strong resolutions against pensions, absentees, and other grievances; which they requested the lord-lieutenant to forward to the King. The Duke in reply, told them, that they contained matter of so high a nature, that he could not suddenly determine whether it would be proper to do so. Upon this, the House agreed to postpone the question of supply; but, on the following day, they were informed by Mr. Secretary Rigby, that their resolutions would be forthwith transmitted to his Majesty. See Walpole's *George II.*, vol. ii. p. 255. and *Letters to Sir Horace Mann*, vol. iii. p. 237.

animosities, and securing future strength and harmony to government.

I am first to observe to your Grace, with regard to the disagreeable but short postponing of the supply, that, as an apprehension of the privileges of the House being at stake, had first raised and would have nourished dissatisfaction, on a common principle of parliamentary union, found at all times more comprehensive than any other ; your Grace's prudence, in not persevering to maintain so disadvantageous and difficult a ground, has met with entire approbation : and from that passage in your Grace's letter, namely, "that a subject is not to put himself between a house of parliament and his sovereign," I have a particular satisfaction in finding, that your Grace's own just reflection has coincided so fully with that undoubted principle of the constitution, on which his Majesty's orders to your Grace to transmit the resolutions were founded.

I have the pleasure to acquaint your Grace, that his Majesty is fully sensible of your constant zeal for his Government, and regard for the honour of his crown ; and I am to signify to your Grace, from the King, that his gracious countenance and support will never be wanting to your Grace, in the administration of your government in Ireland, in all such proper instances as his Majesty shall be first satisfied are best calculated for contributing facility and strength to his affairs, and ease and credit to your Grace. And, on this head, I beg leave to refer myself to my former letter of the

18th instant, desiring, for the King's information, your Grace's more particular sentiments and lights, concerning the causes and properest remedies of the present animosities and difficulties to Government, resulting therefrom.

At the same time, I must not omit remarking, that an observation in your Grace's letter on the near equality in strength of the two predominant parties highly deserves, and has not escaped, the attention of his Majesty ; and if, in the present unhappy divisions, "those gentlemen who are determined against all government, in whatever hands it may be placed, will be enabled" (as your Grace justly represents) "by their junction with either of the two great parties which may be discontented, to embarrass matters to such a degree as to render it difficult, if not impossible, to carry on affairs to his Majesty's satisfaction, and to the advantage of the public ;" I am to observe, that a conjuncture so constituted seems naturally to suggest, and almost necessitate, all softening and healing arts of Government, consistent with its dignity, and, as far as may be practicable, plans of comprehension and harmony.

Your Grace's situation must best inform you what material objections or difficulties may oppose themselves to such views of allaying and composing animosities, and whether the most effectual strength and facility to Government may not be derived from such methods. If, as it is hoped, ideas of this kind shall appear to your Grace prac-

ticable and honourable, it will be unnecessary to add more words to recommend to your Grace's preference conciliation and union in so critical and dangerous a conjuncture ; and there is great room to hope, when the present ferment shall have time to subside, that your Grace will never again experience, in the course of your administration, any difficulties or uneasinesses that may create a doubt in your mind, with regard to continuing in the government of a kingdom, where your Grace's great qualities and many virtues may have an ample field of displaying themselves, with honour to the world, and with eminent advantage to his Majesty's service in times of public danger.

I am, &c. &c.

W. PITT.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. PITT.

(*Most secret and particular.*)

Dublin Castle, Dec. 5, 1757.

SIR,

I HAVE as yet had barely time to acknowledge the receipt of your secret dispatch of the 26th of last month, by the last packet that sailed from hence, which I did not think a safe conveyance for the matter I now find myself under a necessity of writing to you.

I think myself under the deepest obligations of

gratitude to his Majesty for his gracious approbation of my conduct hitherto, in carrying on his business here; and for the assurance that “his gracious countenance and support will never be wanting to me in the administration of government in Ireland, in all such proper instances as his Majesty shall be first satisfied are best calculated for contributing facility and strength to his affairs, and ease and credit to myself.” As it has ever been my constant wish, in every station of life in which I have acted, to prefer the milder method of conciliation and union to the harsher one of punishment and separation, I shall with great willingness undertake the task, however difficult it may be, which his Majesty has prescribed to me, of using my utmost endeavours to conciliate and unite those two (at present) very disunited parties—I mean the *Kildares* and *Ponsonbys*. This is the only step of conciliation that seems to me to be in any degree practicable; and though the difficulties appear to be very great, yet I do not think them absolutely insurmountable. I have already taken every step that I thought likely to conduce to this salutary end, but as yet I have found very little reason to expect much success in my endeavours; which I must chiefly ascribe to the belief of those reports which have been industriously spread about this town by those of the Primate’s faction, that the last despatches I received from you did tie up my hands from taking such measures as I might judge

expedient to bring back his Majesty's servants to a due sense of their duty. ⁽¹⁾

You see by this, Sir, what a gross misrepresentation has been made by designing men of those orders which his Majesty has been most graciously pleased to give me ; which, although they are penned with that spirit of moderation and coolness which his Majesty has at all times showed to all his subjects, preferring, in the first instance, lenity and admonition to rigour and chastisement, do not, however, prevent me from taking such measures as the obstinacy of some might make absolutely necessary for the carrying on the business of government. And I flatter myself I am well founded in this belief, by your again referring me to your despatch of the 18th of November, in which I am directed to transmit “to you for his Majesty's information the names of such persons, if any such shall occur to me, as shall be most capable and best qualified from their abilities, credit, and con-

(1) The factions at this time existing in Ireland are described by Horace Walpole to have been—“the Primate's, Lord Kildare's, those attached to the Speaker Ponsonby and who in truth were a defection from Kildare ; and a flying squadron of patriots, the smallest body of the four, and composed, as is usual, of the discontented—that is, of those who had been too insignificant to be bought off, or whose demands had been too high ; and of a few well-meaning men. Lord Kildare had still the greatest number of dependents, though inferior to those of the Primate and Ponsonby, if united ; a point now eagerly pursued by the Archbishop, while at the same time he underhand inflamed the patriots against the Castle, and had sufficient success.” — *Memoirs of George II.*, vol. ii. p. 256.

nections, to strengthen and promote his Majesty's service."

As it is absolutely necessary, to enable me to be of any service to the King in this country, that the secret despatches which are to come from you to me be kept inviolably so, I must most earnestly intreat, that the contents of them may not be sent to individuals here ; as the present instance shows of what dangerous consequence even the most trivial communication may be productive, for I can assure you of a certainty, that the messenger who brought me your despatches did bring at the same time a letter from a very considerable person in England to the Primate, besides another letter to one in his family ; and it is from this correspondence I fear these injurious reports have arisen.

That I may not appear to have taken any thing up upon vague reports, I can inform you, that Sir Thomas Prendergast has been the person who has propagated them all over this town, and I must leave you to judge whether even the bare suspicion of my not enjoying the King's entire countenance and support in my administration, is not sufficient to defeat my best endeavours for his Majesty's service. I beg, Sir, that what I now write may not be imputed to the least diffidence I have conceived of you ; but I have been long enough about court to know, that those of a prying and busy disposition do worm themselves into secrets in a very unaccountable manner, and the more

easily, the more open and ingenuous the person they have to deal with is.

I shall trouble you no longer in this *most secret and particular letter*, than to assure you that whatever orders from his Majesty you shall transmit me during my stay here, I shall endeavour to execute them with fidelity and punctuality; and as for my return hither a second time, I must leave that to the wisdom of his Majesty and the judgment of his servants in England; who, I am convinced, can never advise him to intrust the government of this kingdom, in its present factious and unsettled state, in the hands of one who shall not be judged proper to be trusted with that power, which can alone enable him to make that reformation, as well in men as things, which appears to be absolutely necessary at present.

I am, with great truth and regard, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

BEDFORD.

THE EARL OF EXETER ⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

[1757-8.]

SIR,

SINCE you seem determined not to give me

(1) Brownlow, ninth Earl of Exeter, at this time lord lieutenant of the county of Rutland. Though without date, this letter, as well as the answer, was no doubt written during the winter of 1757-8.

admittance into your house, I must have recourse to this method of acquainting you with my business. It was to have known from your own mouth, why the Rutland militia were ordered to march, after I had requested they might not, and you had assured me they should not; at the same time promising they should be embodied, to prevent their 'listing into the regulars.

Depending on this assurance, I have informed the officers and men, that they were not to march at this unseasonable time of the year, but to perfect themselves in their exercise against the summer; and by relying on your word, I have broke mine to the whole country.

As your time is so much taken up, I must desire you will order Mr. Wood to send me word why I have been deceived. I am

Your humble servant,

EXETER.

Bristol is near two hundred miles from Rutland.

MR. PITT TO THE EARL OF EXETER.

[From a draught in Mr. Pitt's hand-writing.]

[1757-8.]

MY LORD,

THE matter of your Lordship's letter surprises me as much as the style and manner of it. I never deceive, nor suffer any man to tell me I have deceived him. I declare upon my honour,

I know nothing of the order to march the Rutlandshire militia, if any such be given. I desire therefore to know what your Lordship means by presuming to use the expression of being deceived by me.

I am your Lordship's
humble servant

W. PITT.

I delay going out of town till I hear from your Lordship.

M. D'ABREU TO M. WALL.⁽¹⁾

London, March 3, 1758.

WHAT I wrote to your Excellency by the last post concerning the recalling Mr. Yorke⁽²⁾, in order to his being sent to Berlin upon a secret commission, is certain. Two days after receiving the order for coming here, he set out from the Hague and arrived at London last Tuesday. In the mean time, a messenger arrived by the way of Stade, from the King of Prussia, to insist more than ever on the sending English troops to Germany, and to excuse himself from taking subsidies, as not wanting them; but without making any answer to the English proposal for a treaty, offensive

(1) Endorsed, "Translation of a letter from M. D'Abreu to M. Wall." The original in cipher.

(2) Sir Joseph Yorke, third son of the Earl of Hardwicke, from 1751 to 1780 British minister at the Hague.

and defensive, during the present war. I am informed, by a very certain and authentic channel, of all the intrigues that there have been these three days on that subject, and I will lay them before your Excellency with as much detail as the cipher permits.

Mr. Pitt, having refused to consent to the sending troops, for the reasons mentioned in my last, and having recalled Mr. Yorke in consequence, in order to send him to Berlin to quiet the King of Prussia, thought the difficulty was over; but his Britannic Majesty, making use of the Duke of Newcastle and his friend my Lord Mansfield, has left no stone unturned, in order to engage Mr. Pitt to change his mind. My Lady Yarmouth⁽¹⁾ has been twice to throw herself at the feet of the Princess of Wales, in order that by her influence she may persuade him to come into the said measure, and places and pensions have been offered to the relations of my Lord Bute, the Princess's favourite, in order that he may contribute to the said end; and moreover I was yesterday a witness of the caresses paid to the Princess by the King at court, though he had not spoke a word to her for above a year before. The Princess, maintaining her firmness, has said, that she will have no hand in sacrificing Mr. Pitt's reputation, by persuading him to break his word with the parliament, but that at the same time she

(1) Madame de Walmoden, Countess of Yarmouth, mistress of the King.

will not oppose his coming into the sending of troops, if he thinks it an useful measure for the common cause.

Mr. Pitt's motives for excusing himself are, "that he shall lose his credit, having promised the nation, that not a man should go out of the kingdom on account of the connections of the Electorate⁽¹⁾; that besides this, the King of Prussia ought to be satisfied with 50,000 men, which England keeps for him, between Hanoverians, Hessians, and Brunswickers, which would not be on foot but for the sake of assisting that prince, since the Elector would otherwise have made a neutrality from the beginning with France; and lastly, that as the French might attempt an invasion (as appears to be their intention by the camp which they have just marked out at Dunkirk), and the militia was not yet raised in England, these kingdoms might be in danger." These are the reasons given by Mr. Pitt; but the true and secret one is, that he and the Princess of Wales's household, knowing the tenderness of his Britannic Majesty for his son, the Duke of Cumberland, are

(1) "On the opening of the session, the King's Speech talked openly of the defence of his Majesty's dominions of Britain and *elsewhere*. By that little word *elsewhere*, Hanover was incorporated into the very language of parliament. On delivering the estimates of the army, Lord Barrington complaisantly re-verberated the word. Mr. Pitt got up and said, he did not agree with his Lordship in that term; he meant the army for our immediate selves: he had never been against continental measures when practicable, but would not now send a drop of our blood to the Elbe, to be lost in that ocean of gore." — *Walpole's Geo. II.*, vol. ii. p. 274.

afraid of his reassuming the command of the army, if English troops are sent, and consequently of his appearing again upon the stage; since it will be dishonourable to trust the English troops to a foreign general, as is the Prince of Brunswick, who commands the army.

The Duke of Newcastle, on his part, insists upon the sending of troops; first, because as they are to be employed against the French, it matters not whether it be in Germany, Flanders, or America; and, secondly, because if they disgust the King of Prussia, who is the soul of the alliance, he may take a separate resolution, or even find himself obliged to yield to the weight of so many enemies, and to finish the war upon the continent, which it so much imports England to foment.

In a word, the fermentation still continues, and my friend, who acquaints me with every thing, assures me that he cannot yet form a certain judgment of the resolution which Mr. Pitt will take, though it is his opinion that he will at last find himself obliged to send, if not a large body of troops, a middling one of infantry, and that, in order to screen himself with the Parliament, he will get the motion made by a member of the House of Commons, in order to discover their way of thinking, without forcing the business by a majority. In the meantime, Mr. Yorke stays here to receive his instructions, and I believe will soon set out for Berlin, because they have more confidence in his talents than in those of Mr. Mitchell.

A squadron will soon sail to cruise in the Bay of Biscay. Two men-of-war are going to India, and two to the coast of Guinea. I can say nothing of *our* affairs, Mr Pitt being ill. The Duke of Newcastle having asked me lately, how long we should protect M. De la Clue's squadron, I answered him, as far as was provided for by treaties, and that the English squadrons would find the same protection that should come into our ports.

I am, &c.,

ABREU.

M. D'ABREU TO M. WALL.⁽¹⁾

London, March 10, 1758.

I THINK I can now positively assure your Excellency that, after much debate and intrigue, the point of sending troops to Germany was last night decided in the negative. Mr. Pitt declared definitively, that neither his system, nor his principles, nor his situation as a private man, permitted him to consent to it; but that if the other ministers thought it for the good of the common cause, he would not oppose it, but would leave the ministry without pique or rancour. The Duke of Newcastle, fearful lest the resignation of Mr. Pitt might produce another confusion like to that of last year, fatal to his country and his own interest, agreed to the

⁽¹⁾ Endorsed, "Translation of a letter in cipher from M. D'Abreu to M. Wall."

not sending of troops, and even undertook to tranquillise his Britannic Majesty on this head; but the great difficulty will be to quiet the King of Prussia, to whom some glimmering of hope was given by a messenger dispatched last Tuesday, and who insists upon having troops sent by every post and messenger.

Mr. Yorke will set out for Breslau as soon as the business is decided, and I think myself informed of his instructions; which are, first, to convince the King of Prussia of the impossibility of complying with his request in this particular; secondly, to promise him that the Hanoverian army shall be augmented and recruited in the country to as great a number as possible at the expense of England; thirdly, to offer him an annual subsidy of a million sterling, in order that he may be able to continue the war, and raise recruits in his own and the conquered countries; and fourthly, to make him the most solemn promise, that England will never hearken to any proposition of peace without his consent and concurrence, and that she will sacrifice all the advantages that may be gained by her in the course of the war, in order to save his Prussian Majesty from the losses which may accrue from the number of his enemies.

Besides this, Mr. Yorke is to insinuate what well-grounded hopes the English have of making a good campaign in America, which may counterbalance the success of France and her allies in Germany, and then he is to try to engage that

monarch to make a common cause with the English, and to cement the friendship between the two courts by the strongest ties—the whole with a view of animating him to continue the war upon the continent, which is the great object of England. As to a squadron for the Baltic, Mr. Yorke is to tell him, that they are waiting the success of Mr. Keith's⁽¹⁾ negociations; but that, in case Russia should persevere in her invasion, a squadron shall certainly go there. Not having seen Mr. Pitt, I can say nothing of *our* affairs; only I observe that his Majesty speaks to me more graciously of late, and has shown great satisfaction at the recovery of the Queen our mistress. I am, &c.,

ABREU.

P. S. Since the writing of the above dispatch my friend has confirmed every thing that I have reported to your Excellency as to the substance; but still doubts whether Mr. Yorke will go to Berlin, or whether the same instructions will be sent to Mr. Mitchell there, because Mr. Yorke would be glad to return to the Hague, and my Lord Hardwicke would not like to have his son charged with a commission, which cannot be agreeable to the King of Prussia, as the troops are denied him.⁽²⁾

ABREU.

(¹) British envoy at the court of St. Petersburg.

(²) "Hitherto the King of Prussia had lain quiet. Suspicions had even been entertained, that he was meditating or

THE EARL OF BUTE TO MR. PITT.

[March 11, 1758.]

MY DEAREST FRIEND,

YOUR letter gives me the greatest uneasiness, and yet I own I suspected, by my last conversation with Lord Hardwicke, that things would take this turn. I am not quite so satisfied with the Duke of Newcastle as you seem to be; his declarations about avoiding any further continental operations were formerly very strong, and he knows the idea of sending troops abroad is totally inconsistent with the being of this administration.

I own, my dear friend, I rejoice in the firmness you have shown: your situation is very delicate, and yet a steady pursuance of plan will extricate you with honour, but one improper concession may prove fatal to us all. But more of this to-morrow. I will call on you at twelve, for I expect a little business at eleven. Adieu, my dearest friend.

Yours most entirely,

BUTE.

concluding a separate peace. At last, on the 11th of April, a new subsidiary treaty was concluded with him, and Colonel Yorke was dispatched from the Hague to fix that essential man. Luckily, Knyphausen was on the road, with his assent to the treaty, before Yorke arrived; otherwise the vainglory of Lord Hardwicke could not have imagined a more impolitic step for his country or his son. The treaty was approved of by the two Houses, and the money granted."— *Walpole's George II.*, vol. ii. p. 293.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Newcastle House, March 17, 1758.

DEAR SIR,

AFTER a very fatiguing day yesterday in the House of Lords, I received, very late at night, when I came home, the very great comfort of your most obliging letter. It is the highest satisfaction to me, that his Majesty begins to see his own interest, and to know how much he owes to the zeal and ability of his servants, and particularly to you. I heard and saw too much on Monday last, not to think myself obliged, in duty to the King and in justice to you, to speak my mind very plainly, and without the least reserve in the closet, which I did on Tuesday. If it had any effect there, it makes me happy; but if it has convinced you of the sincerity with which I have acted (ever since we came together), and shall continue to act towards you, it makes me infinitely more so. I am not vain enough to think that I have the power which your goodness towards me makes you imagine, but you cannot do too much justice to my sincere inclination and firm resolution to endeavour to do all I can.

I entirely agree with you, as to the necessity of stopping the most unjust recall of that honest man M. Viri⁽¹⁾; and, after the foundation you have laid for it with the King, I cannot imagine that

(¹) Count de Viri, ambassador from the court of Sardinia. He died at Turin, in 1766.

there will be any difficulty in inducing his Majesty to direct you to write to my Lord Bristol⁽¹⁾ as you propose. I will be sure to speak this day, and will acquaint you with the effect of it by a note, if I do not see you at court.

Lord Duplin, the chancellor of the exchequer⁽²⁾, and myself were together at midnight last Wednesday, and by the great knowledge and attention of my Lord Duplin, and with the assistance of Mr. Nichols⁽³⁾, we have prepared a plan, upon which you will give us your thoughts, and which, perhaps, with some alterations may do. It is necessarily high; but we have made some very considerable deductions, and have stated the expense (as far as can well be done at present) of 50,000 men, actually *en campagne*, setting aside both militia and invalids. The whole amounts to 1,060,000*l.*, including the Russians, which, with the 700,000*l.* for the King of Prussia, brings the whole within 1,800,000*l.* I gave yesterday morning

*Summa
funding*

(1) George William Hervey, second Earl of Bristol. He was at this time British minister at the court of Turin. In June, he was appointed ambassador-extraordinary to the court of Spain; and proved himself a minister of considerable vigilance, capacity, and spirit, particularly with relation to the family compact between the houses of Bourbon; which being ratified in September 1761, his Lordship left Madrid in December, without taking leave. In 1766, he was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland; in 1768, keeper of the privy-seal; and in 1770, groom of the stole, and first lord of the bed-chamber; which places he held till his death, in 1775.

(2) Mr. Legge.

(3) Ledger-keeper in the paymaster's office.

the plan, &c. to Baron Munchausen, ⁽¹⁾ with a paper of explanation and observations upon it. M. Munchausen will return it, with his remarks, on Monday morning. I will then send the whole, with our observations upon them, immediately to you.

I wish it was possible to go to parliament next week in some shape or other, though I am afraid it will be difficult, if not impossible. The subscribers of nine millions are very impatient to know their fate; they say their money is locked up. I have recommended it in the strongest manner to M. Munchausen, to be reasonable and very moderate; I have showed him, from myself, the absolute necessity of it. Upon all occasions you and I (I had almost said the King and the public) have a friend, who gives us the most useful assistance. I have had an exorbitant proposal from M. Prado for forage. I have ordered other inquiries to be made, but I have sent for a merchant from Amsterdam, who knows more than all of them put together. Believe me to be, dear Sir,

most sincerely, and

most affectionately yours,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

(¹) Hanoverian minister at the court of London.

MR. PITT TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

[From a rough draught in Mr. Pitt's hand-writing.]

April 4, 1758.

MY LORD,

THE expense of the army (Hessians not included), as stated in the specifications given to your Grace, is so prodigious, that I find it impossible to rest at ease, till I see some daylight for his Majesty's business in parliament, by the reduction of those demands to such a size as may render them supportable, when the proper day shall come for opening the whole of the vast expense abroad to the House. The establishments are so high, the allowances are so excessive in quantity, and the supposed first cost of all necessaries so enormous, that Mr. Nichol's observations seem to me extremely tender, and far short of the mark. The invalids and militia, I need not say, are out of the question, and never could be intended in the minute of October last. The demand of forage for Hessians last year is preposterous, and would revolt all the world.

I wish to God I could see my way through this mountain of expense. I confess I cannot, unless your Grace can reduce things to a reasonable bulk, and to such precision at least as will enable me to deal openly and fairly with the House. I beg to see a clear state of the pay of the whole army, Hessians included, and also the other supposed charge, Hessians also included, when properly and

duly reduced in establishment and in allowances, quantity, and probable first cost.

I hope your Grace will pardon this trouble ; which nothing but my fears for the whole should have given you. I am with the greatest truth and perfect respect,

Your Grace's, &c. &c.

W. PITT.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Newcastle House, April 5, 1758.

DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED yesterday the honour of your letter, and though we had a good deal of discourse at my Lady Yarmouth's, upon the estimate to be laid before the House of Commons, I hope you will excuse my expressing my very great concern and surprise at the contents of it. My surprise was great to find that Mr. Nichols now made the amount of the whole come to 1,500,000*l.*, when he had very lately, upon a gross computation, stated it to me (as I understood it) at between 1,300,000*l.* and 1,400,000*l.* I very well remember that I desired to know the amount of the whole (meaning the whole army of 50,000 men), upon the foot of Baron Munchausen's last proposal, and the answer he gave me made it amount to what I have before mentioned.

My concern is great that you should think that I had suffered the demand to swell beyond all decency. So far have I been from suffering any such thing, that I have invariably and most strongly represented against it, and constantly endeavoured to show the necessity of reducing the demand. I have been as constantly answered, that nothing was charged but what the King actually paid; and I have never given the least ground to hope that any thing was to be granted, but what I had reason to think would be generally approved by all the King's servants. I have daily and hourly, from the beginning, represented the necessity of making abatements in the demands, and passed entirely yesterday morning, upon seeing the amount of the whole demand according to Mr. Nichol's present state of it.

I do not look upon the fixing this estimate to belong to the treasury. Whilst I have the honour to be at the head of it, no demand of this sort shall come before parliament, which is not previously approved by the rest of the King's ministers. I know too well my own situation, to think it either for the service of the King or the public, or for my own credit, to bring any such demand before parliament, which has not your concurrence, approbation, and support. The providing for this army of 50,000 men by this country is a measure of administration. The expense of it also is necessarily their providing; and it is too great a task for the treasury to take upon them to determine how far

that expense shall go, especially when it is notorious, that the necessary expense of the army in Germany at this time is much higher than it was during the last war in Flanders.

Whatever the public may think of me, I shall always have the satisfaction to know, that to the best of my judgment I act for the service of the King and the nation. Far from encouraging any extraordinary demands, I always have and shall continue to remonstrate against them, as far as I am able. When that is over, it is the business of the King's ministers collectively to say whether the measure shall be pursued or not. I proposed to the King the putting the whole affair of these things and every thing except the pay, &c. under the direction of persons appointed from hence. His Majesty readily consented to it; and when that is done no suspicion can remain. Since writing thus far, I have had the chancellor of the exchequer, Baron Munchausen, and Mr. Nichols, with me. The last will have acquainted you with the substance of what passed. I am, dear Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ On the 25th of April, Lord Chesterfield writes to his son: — "The only extraordinary thing is, that last week, in the House of Commons, above ten millions were granted, and the whole Hanover army taken into British pay, with but one single negative, which was Mr. Viner's."

THE KING TO PRINCE FERDINAND OF BRUNSWICK.

[From the original draught drawn up by Mr. Pitt.]

A` Kensington, ce 28me Avril, 1758.

MON COUSIN,

LA lettre que vous m'avez écrite de Munster, le 21^e du courant m'est bien parvenue avant hier au matin. Vous ne pouvez ignorer l'extrême satisfaction avec laquelle j'ai vû la manière dont vous avez conduit mon armée, depuis qu'elle est sous votre commandement ; et vous pouvez vous persuader, que ma confiance s'augmente de jour en jour à proportion des nouvelles preuvesque vous ne cessez de me donner de votre habilité et de votre zèle pour mon service, et pour le bien de la cause à laquelle je me suis lié, et dont le succès décidera du bonheur de mes peuples.

Je ne puis qu'approuver les mesures que vous avez prisés pour couvrir le Weser, pour favoriser la formation des magazines, et pour entretenir la communication avec mes états et ceux des mes alliés. Je tombe d'accord avec vous, qu'un an de guerre vive feroit moins de mal à mon armée, et plus de tort à l'ennemi, que deux ans d'une guerre poussée froidement, et où l'on so tiendrait sur le défensif. C'est sur ce principe que j'ai suggéré à différentes reprises, combien il seroit utile à mes affaires de profiter des heureux succès que mes armes ont eus, en serrant l'ennemi encore

d'avantage, et même en le poursuivant au delà du Rhin. Quels que soient mes souhaits là dessus, les circonstances et votre prudence doivent en décider. La bravoure, conduite par la sagesse, en reçoit un nouveau lustre. Je reconnois toutes ces qualités en votre personne ; et je me persuade, que vous travaillerez à lever les obstacles qui s'opposent pour le present au progrès ulterieur de mes armes ; et dans cette vue mes ordres seront reiterés pour hâter, autant que possible les recrues et les renforts qui doivent joindre l'armée, et de presser le départ de l'attirail de guerre, qui vous manque encore. En attendant, je ne puis qu'approuver votre intention d'alarmer sans cesse les troupes ennemis, et de tâcher de faire des coups de main sur elles, et à cette fin, de jetter au delà du Rhin six à sept mille hommes, où tel autre detachment que vous jugerez convenable. ⁽¹⁾

Il ne me reste qu'à vous assurer de toute mon amitié, et de la parfaite estime avec laquelle je suis, &c. &c.

GEORGE R.

(1) Prince Ferdinand lost no time in putting the King's entreaties into execution. In the latter end of May, he ordered a detachment to pass the Rhine at Duysbourg, under the command of Colonel Sneither, who executed his order without loss ; and in the beginning of June the whole army passed the Rhine, on a bridge constructed for the occasion, defeated a body of French cavalry, and obtained several other advantages in their march towards the Weser.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Kensington, May 10, 1758.

DEAR SIR.

I HAD the pleasure to find the King this morning indeed quite well, with very little remains of his cold. I acquainted his Majesty with your concern that your health did not permit you at present to attend him, and with your desire of his Majesty's leave to go for some days into the country, for the recovery of it. His Majesty was very sorry for the state of your health, and hopes the country air will very soon re-establish it.

I also acquainted the King with what you desired me, relating to the expedition.⁽¹⁾ His Majesty's answer was, that (as he had told my Lord Ligonier) he would neither advise nor oppose it; but that he thought it would be of service, that the fleet (meaning, as I understood it, with the troops and transports) should appear upon the coasts of France; and therefore his Majesty would have

(1) Disheartening as had been the result of the enterprise against Rochfort, the government resolved to fit out another expedition on a more extensive scale, for the purpose of making a descent on different parts of the French coast; and in order to draw off the attention of the enemy, and prevent any serious interruption to the operations of the troops, a fleet of seventeen sail of the line and several frigates, under the command of Lord Anson, was prepared with all possible dispatch, and sailed from Spithead on the 1st of June, to blockade Brest. The command of the land-forces was given to the Duke of Marlborough, and that of the armament to Commodore Howe.

you prepare a draught of instructions for the Duke of Marlborough, upon the plan proposed in the paper signed by the general officers. His Majesty also has told my Lord Ligonier, and has repeated the same to me, that he would have the consideration of this affair laid before his servants; and if in the mean time the instructions are got ready, the whole may be considered at once.

I am very sorry that an indispensable engagement this evening prevents my waiting upon you. My Lord Holdernessee will have that honour, with whom I have fully talked the affair over. I heartily wish you may find all possible benefit from the country air, and conclude you will be going thither to-morrow. I am with great truth and respect, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and

most humble servant,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

THE EARL OF HOLDERNESSE⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Arlington Street, May 10, 1750.

SIR,

If I have appeared importunate in my frequent

(1) Robert D'Arcy, fourth Earl of Holdernessee; in 1744 appointed ambassador to the Venetian republic; in 1749, minister plenipotentiary to the states general; in 1751, and again in 1754, one of the principal secretaries of state; and in 1765 lord warden of the cinque ports. He died in 1778, when the earldom became extinct.

endeavours to have leave to wait upon you, I hope the urgency of the business I had to communicate to you will be a sufficient excuse. I confess I was greatly disappointed that I had not that honour this evening, as I observed, in your letter to the Duke of Newcastle, that you had allotted some part of it to business ; but as I now find I am not likely to have an opportunity of talking with you till after your return from the country, I am under the necessity of giving you this trouble, to desire to know your opinion, what answer should be returned to Prince Ferdinand⁽¹⁾ and Baron Knyphausen, in respect of the pretensions of the Landgrave of Hesse ; whom they both represent as being upon the point of taking the rash resolution of withdrawing his troops from Prince Ferdinand's army, and he actually has stopped the recruits that were destined for the regiments now with Prince Ferdinand.

I take it for granted you still remain of opinion that nothing is to be given to the Landgrave upon the foot of *dédommagement pécuniaire* ; but M. Knyphausen tells me, that in his last conversation with you, you seemed inclined to adopt the notion of granting an extraordinary subsidy to the Landgrave, upon certain conditions, and I understand M. Knyphausen has wrote to the Hessian ministers in this sense ; and he is so very pressing with me to set the negociation on foot, that I no longer know

(¹) It was at the instance and by the advice of Mr. Pitt, that Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick had been placed at the head of the Hanoverian and Hessian troops.

how to put him off, without risking the charge of neglecting the immediate business of my office.

I need not dwell upon the dangerous consequence of the Landgrave's taking a hasty measure of the kind he threatens. It might at once frustrate and render ineffectual all the great efforts made by this country, in support of the King of Prussia and the common cause. A negotiation of some sort or other once *entamé*, I should hope means might be found to keep the Landgrave in good humour; and the firmness he showed, in opposition to the execution of the convention of Closter-Seven, entitles him to as much favour as can with propriety be shown to him.

I earnestly beg the favour of an answer to this letter, as M. Knyphausen is to be with me in the country on Saturday and Sunday, when, if I can know your sentiments, something may be put upon paper for future consideration; for I am very unwilling either to enter into a negociation of this kind without a proper concert with the rest of the King's servants, or to have the consequences which may result from the Landgrave's impatience attributed to any delay in the office where I have the honour to serve the King.

I most sincerely hope you will have all the benefit you expect from the country air, after your long and painful confinement. I am myself still an invalid, and stand very much in need of a little recess from business; but I doubt the suspense I have been kept in for this fortnight last past will

prevent me from having much enjoyment of the ensuing holidays. I am, with great respect, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

HOLDERNESSE.

DR. WARBURTON TO MR. PITT.

Prior Park, May 15, 1758.

HONOURED SIR,

You have encouraged me so much to presume on your favourable acceptance of any instance of my attachment and devotion to you, that I have taken the liberty to order for you a new edition of one of my books, (the second volume of the Divine Legation,) just going to be published. You will find, in a place generally occupied by trifles or falsehoods⁽¹⁾, a very serious truth related, which, I am sure, you have often thought upon with concern; and in the address to the Jews I have hinted at a late public transaction concerning that people, which I hope will appear excusable, as a matter within my profession.

I have ventured to take a further liberty — the accompanying this book with the rest of my writings, as they have for their subject those two things which, with their dependencies, I know you esteem most worth a reasonable man's leisure — I mean religion and civil government.

(¹) The Dedication to the Earl of Mansfield.

But it will be honour enough for my writings only to find a place in your library. I should have reason to lament for the public, as well as to be alarmed for that complaisant opinion, which your favourable prejudice for me hath tempted me to entertain of myself, if the ablest judge and critic of these subjects should ever have so much vacant leisure to read, what at best would be found to be only the image of his own former reflections.

I have the honour to be, with the sincerest attachment, honoured Sir,

Your most obliged,

and most devoted servant,

W. WARBURTON.

THE EARL OF BUTE TO MR. PITT.

June 4, 1758.

MY WORTHY FRIEND,

I RECEIVED your kind letter at dinner with company, so that I could not then answer it, and did not care to detain your servant. Had I any occasion for additional proofs of your friendship, and fervent zeal for the public good, every line of your letter would furnish me with them ; indeed, the entire confidence I place in you, dear Pitt, the perfect knowledge I have of your sentiments supports me, though surrounded by the most threatening symptoms. What a terrible proof was

HC

Friday in the House of Lords⁽¹⁾ of the total loss of public spirit, and the most supreme indifference to those valuable rights, for the obtaining which our ancestors freely risked both life and fortune ! These are dreadful clouds that hang over the future accession, and damp the hopes I should otherwise entertain of that important day — I say *damp*, for while you keep your health, I never will despair of better times. We have so good a cause, that I make no doubt but Providence will still assist us to struggle through the turpitude of the age, and pave the way for a happy reign to a most deserving Prince. Keep then your health and spirits, and let faction and degeneracy do its worst, and by that I shall also support myself, and him to whom I dedicate my life. Adieu, my dear friend.

I am ever most affectionately yours,

BUTE.

Sunday.

(1) On Friday a bill to explain and amend the habeas corpus act, which had passed the Commons with considerable alacrity, was rejected by the Lords. "The habeas corpus," writes Horace Walpole to Mr. Conway, "is finished, but only for this year. Lord Temple threatened to renew it the next ; on which Lord Hardwicke took the part of proposing to order the judges to prepare a bill for extending the power of granting the writ in vacation to all the judges. This prevented a division ; though Lord Temple, who protested alone t' other day, had a flaming protest ready, which was to have been signed by near thirty. Lord Mansfield spoke admirably for two hours and twenty-five minutes. Except Lord Ravensworth and the Duke of Newcastle, whose meaning the first never knows himself, and the latter's nobody else, all who spoke, spoke well."

THE EARL OF BUTE TO MR. PITT.

[June 16, 1758.]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

MY hopes were so small, that I feel this disappointment ⁽¹⁾ less than I otherwise should; but feel it I do, and the more so that, without the gift of prophecy, I foresee where all this will end. Will it not be necessary to spur them on a little? Might not a letter received in time force them to act like men, in their next attempt; if any such be intended?

I hear already of an air of triumph painted in some faces ⁽²⁾; but, alas! that is not against us, but against their country. In all this you have the satisfaction, my worthy friend, to have done

(1) The return of the expedition against St. Maloes to Concale, June 12, *re infectâ*. See p. 323.

(2) Walpole relates, that the King, who was supposed to be adverse to the expedition, said to Lord Waldegrave, "I never had any opinion of it: we shall brag of having burnt their ships, and they of having driven us away." And in a letter to Mr. Conway, written on the 16th, he exultingly exclaims, "Well, my dear Harry! you are not the only man in England who have not conquered France! Even dukes of Marlborough have been there without doing the business. We have waited with astonishment at not hearing that the French court was removed in a panic to Lyons, and that the mesdames had gone off in their chemises with only a portion of rouge for a week. Now, for my part, I expected to be deafened with encomiums on my lord Anson's continence, who, after being allotted Madame Pompadour as his share of the spoils, had again imitated Scipio, and restored her unsullied to the King of France. Alack! we have restored nothing but a quarter of a mile of coast to the right owners."

your utmost. The wisest plans may fail by timid execution, and the ablest counsels prove useless without willing instruments. Do not suffer this almost expected event to prey upon your generous mind. Preserve your health for better times. Remember that we ought rather to be surprised at the good you are able to do (things so situated), than at miscarriages, though they came much oftener. Farewell, my dear Pitt,

Ever most affectionately yours,

BUTE.

THE EARL OF BUTE TO MR. PITT.

Kew, June 27th, 1758.

MY WORTHY FRIEND,

I DID not quite understand one sentence in your letter, where the King is said to permit Prince Edward⁽¹⁾ to go as a volunteer. Is not that to make him *in utr : paratus* ? Ought not there to be some sea-commission, with regard to cartel, in

(1) Edward-Augustus, second son of Frederick, Prince of Wales, and brother of George the Third. On the 23d, he had been appointed a midshipman, and, in the following month, he embarked on board the *Essex*, commanded by Lord Howe, upon the expedition against Cherburg. In April, 1760, he was created Duke of York and Albany and Earl of Munster, and in 1761, appointed rear-admiral of the blue. In 1762, he hoisted his flag on board the *Princess Amelia*, and made several cruizes. He afterwards made the tour of the Continent, visited the King of Prussia and several courts of Germany, and in passing from Paris to Italy, was seized at Monaco with a malignant fever, of which he died, in September, 1767, in his twenty-eighth year.

case of accidents? Do enquire a little about this. As to the smallest idea of Dury⁽¹⁾ taking place in my breast, that was as impossible to me, as his nomination to the see of Canterbury would have been. I now wish most heartily all expeditions over. Adieu, my worthy friend. I am ever,

Most affectionately yours,

BUTE.

THE EARL OF BUTE TO MR. PITT.

Kew, June 28, 1758.

MY WORTHY FRIEND,

I MOST heartily congratulate you on the great event that has happened⁽²⁾; and am persuaded this is the critical minute, in which the most peevish person will be brought to assent to the assistance of Prince Ferdinand's army. The number of men you propose sending is in truth neither more nor less than what I had in secret wished to go; and I cannot help observing, that this measure (whatever effect it may have on the

(1) General Alexander Dury. He was second in command at the unfortunate affair at St. Cas; where, after being wounded, he contrived, with the aid of a grenadier, to take off his clothes; after which, he got into the sea, and was never heard of more.

(2) Having pushed the French beyond the Rhine, Prince Ferdinand, on the 23d of June, passed it himself at Herven in sight of their whole army, and soon eclipsed the glory of that passage by defeating them at Crevelt, where they lost seven thousand men.

——) ought certainly to convince the Prussian, that we may be depended on, and hasten a proper treaty; without which things are in a precarious way, notwithstanding the success in Germany. I own our not being courted to this salutary measure makes me very uneasy; and some warnings I have lately received from a good hand, relative to Knyppe—n's ideas of the great basis of such a treaty, not only provoke me extremely, but cast a veil of suspicion (perhaps groundless) on the ulterior intentions of his master.

Adieu, my worthy friend, and be assured that we think precisely the same way in the great measure you have now set on foot, and that I shall repine at nothing but the delaying its being put in execution. I ever am, dear Pitt,

most affectionately

and entirely yours, &c.,

BUTE.

MR. PITT TO LADY HESTER PITT.

Hayes, Saturday, July 1, 1758.

MY DEAR LOVE,

I HOPE this letter will find you safe arrived at Stowe, after a journey which the little rain must have made pleasant. Hayes is as sweet with these showers, as it can be without the presence of her, who gives to every sweet its best sweetness. The loved babes are delightfully well, and remembered

dear mamma over their strawberries. They both looked for her in the prints, and told me “Mamma gone up there—Stowe garden.” As the showers seem local, I may suppose my sweet love enjoying them with a fine evening sun, and finding beauties of her acquaintance grown up into higher perfection, and others, before unknown to her and still so to me, accomplishing the total charm.

The messenger is just arrived, and no news. Expectation grows every hour into more anxiety—the fate of Louisburgh and of Olmutz probably decided, though the event unknown—the enterprise crowned with success or baffled, at this moment—and indications of a second battle towards the Rhine. I trust, my life, in the same favouring Providence that all will be well, and that this almost degenerate England may learn from the disgrace and ruin it shall have escaped, and the consideration and security it may enjoy, to be more deserving of the blessing.

Sister Mary’s letter of yesterday will have carried down the history of Hayes to last night; and the continuator of this day has the happiness to assure my sweetest love of the health of its inhabitants, young and old. The young are so delightfully noisy, that I hardly know what I write. My most affectionate compliments to all the congress.

Your ever loving husband,

W. PITT.

THE EARL OF BUTE TO MR. PITT.

[July 2, 1758.]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I JUST learn from your office, that the fleet is returned to St. Helen's.⁽¹⁾ For God's sake, let their stay be as short as possible! I foresee the troops, generals and officers, will be most impatient to change their destination, if they are left any time to cabal at home. You seemed unwilling to take any of those battalions for the German expedition. Why will my friend continue the Duke's measure, in keeping so great a body of men in Scotland? Four thousand is quite sufficient for that service; which would give great elbow-room here. George Townshend has been with me this morning, pressing me to desire you to give ten mi-

(1) The expedition under Commodore Howe, which had sailed from Spithead on the 1st of June, came to anchor at Concale bay on the 5th. The troops landed on the following day and marched to St. Maloes, and preparations were made for laying siege to the town; but the Duke of Marlborough, having received advice of a large force of the enemy collected to cut off his retreat, and being informed that the siege would take up a month, ordered the whole of the forces to strike their tents, and return to Concale; which they did after having set fire to about a hundred sail of shipping, which lay under the guns of the town, and to several magazines filled with naval stores. After reconnoitring the town of Granville, the fleet moved towards Cherburg, and made the proper dispositions for landing; but a hard gale blowing in to the shore, and the transports beginning to fall foul of each other, it was determined to make the best of their way to the English coast; and, on the 1st of July, the whole fleet reached St. Helen's.

nute's audience to Mr. Annesley, adjutant to the second troop of horse grenadiers, ; who, he affirms, has the most useful matter to impart relating to the French coast, in case the fleet go out again. He seems to wish it so much, that I take for granted you'll please him in it.⁽¹⁾

I am ever, my worthy friend,
most affectionately yours, &c.

BUTE.

Sunday morning.

EARL TEMPLE TO MR. PITT.

Stowe, July 3, 1758.

MY DEAR PITT,

THE return of the expedition *re infectâ*, does not surprise me ; for a Rochfort is not to be met with every day, and the burning the shipping has been, so far, a happy event. If more can be done of the same kind, it is certainly a good employment both of our men and ships, and will be thought so by all impartial men.

I grieve to see the difficulties and dangers which surround you on every side, notwithstanding the fortunate and glorious successes of these last nine months. Far be it from me, my dear Pitt, to add to them by any difference amongst us : much, very

(¹) See Mr. George Townshend's letter to Mr. Pitt, of the 27th of August, p. 346.

much, may undoubtedly be said in favour of the measure you have taken; though as one step necessarily draws on many more, in any hands but yours, with such a master, such colleagues, and the whole of the plan of the war taken together, my reluctance would be extreme; though, in reasoning upon this abstracted proposition, to be sure it carries along with it not only great plausibility, but likewise may be productive of much good.

Leicester House will certainly have no objection to any measure of this kind, so long as they have nothing to apprehend, with regard to his Royal Highness⁽¹⁾ being put at the head of it. What alarms me most, is the account Lady Hester brought of some men of war, a few, very few, being got into Louisburgh; because, upon the issue of that attempt, I think the whole salvation of this country and Europe does essentially depend, and any French force at all in that harbour, bringing comfort and reinforcement, may blast all our hopes: but as *facile credimus quod volumus*, I will still depend upon success there, and wish it every where else.

Lady Hester is perfectly well, and made us all very happy, throwing in some gleam of hope, that we might still see you on Saturday next; but I fear all these matters, with united force, will join to de-

(1) The Duke of Cumberland. On the 25th, the Duke of Marlborough was appointed commander-in-chief of the British forces about to be sent to Germany, to augment the army of Prince Ferdinand.

prive us of that pleasure. All desire their kindest love and compliments, and I am ever, my dear Pitt,

Your most truly affectionate brother,

TEMPLE.

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Portsmouth, July 3, 1758.

SIR,

You have been so much my friend upon every occasion, that I trust you will forgive the trouble I now give you, in representing the disagreeable situation I find myself in.

When I was appointed lieutenant-general upon the present expedition under the Duke of Marlborough, I most readily accepted of it, as the only service then subsisting; but I was in hopes, should any troops be destined for Germany, that I might have had the command of them, if nobody upon the staff in England of superior rank had been employed. But you may judge how morti-

(1) Third son of Lionel Cranfield Sackville, first Duke of Dorset. He served several campaigns in Germany, under the Duke of Cumberland; became a major-general in 1755; in 1757, was appointed colonel of the second regiment of dragoon guards, and lieutenant-general of the ordnance; and, in the early part of this year, lieutenant general of the forces, and a privy-councillor. This letter was written two days after his return from the expedition to St. Maloes; where, according to Horace Walpole, "it was said, that the Duke of Marlborough and the troops remarked, that he was not among the foremost to court danger."

fied I was yesterday to learn, that such a command was given to general Blighe⁽¹⁾, who, I dare say, will be as surprised at being named, as the whole army must be at the appointment of him.

In this situation, I have made it my earnest request to Lord Ligonier, after this mark of his Majesty's disapprobation, to be struck off the staff, as soon as the troops are dismissed from this expedition; or as soon as the Duke of Marlborough's command of them may cease. I do entreat your intercession for the granting of this my request; and as I shall ever esteem your friendship as the greatest honour to me, I hope I shall meet with your approbation in desiring to withdraw from the active part of my profession, since I can no longer continue in it with any degree of credit or satisfaction to myself. I am, Sir, with the greatest respect,

Your faithful and obliged

humble servant,

GEORGE SACKVILLE.

WILLIAM BECKFORD, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Fonthill, July 10, 1758.

DEAR SIR,

IF I was not most sincerely attached to your and my country's interest and welfare, I should

(¹) It was originally intended to appoint General Blighe, an old experienced officer, who had served with reputation, to the command of the British forces about to be sent to Germany.

not presume to trouble you with these few lines ; but as by-standers often see as much of the game as those engaged in play, permit me to unbosom my thoughts to one I so sincerely regard.

✓ The people of England are as apt to be as much elated with good success, as they are depressed by misfortunes. No wonder, therefore, if our late success in Africa⁽¹⁾, on the Rhine, and at St. Maloes (for I call that a lucky event, all things considered), gave them high spirits ; and all this good news was ascribed to you and you only. This was the general voice of the people ; but yet there are a set of men who wish you ill, and who, I am confident, will stick at nothing, in order to lessen that popularity you have so justly acquired. These men give out, that the St. Maloes expedition was an idle scheme, which is as much ridiculed in France and other places, as our late expedition to Rochfort ; that an attempt on the coast of France never can succeed ; that we, therefore, ought to employ all our troops on the Rhine or the Low Countries ; and that, notwithstanding his promise to parliament, Mr. Pitt will be obliged to send an army into Germany.

This is the language of those, and those only, who are far from wishing you well ; for all the disinterested men with whom I converse hold another language. They think an invasion on the coast of France is practicable, and that the naval force of that

(1) The capture of Fort Louis and Senegal, by the squadron under Commodore Marsh.

country can be weakened no way so effectually as by destroying their ships, stores, and magazines, by frequent invasions; that the attempt on St. Maloes showed the practicability of the measure; that we have a great force at present unemployed, which is capable of attempting greater things at this critical juncture, while the arms of France are so fully employed in Germany; that we have docks and ships sufficient to make an attempt on Brest; and that these diversions will do more good to the common cause, than sending large bodies of men to Germany or the Low Countries.

In my own opinion, there is truth in this kind of reasoning; for I verily believe our present situation is such as to render us capable of an attack on the French coast, and of sending a very large supply to the army of Hanover. Now, as you were pleased to write me word you had advised sending twelve squadrons of idle horse to strengthen Prince Ferdinand's army, I think the measure right, and should, for one, approve of sending more horse to that army, which seems to be in want of horse, and they are of little use here, but, on the contrary, a great burden to the poor innholders, &c. Our cavalry are esteemed the heaviest and best in Europe; and if a large body of them were sent to Prince Ferdinand's army, such an addition would add greater weight to the common scale, than treble the number of foot; for our infantry is not more esteemed than that of Germany, but our horse are in the highest reputation. Moreover, I am very sure the

✓ sending of horse will give no disgust, but the sending a body of infantry will cause uneasiness, and not have that effect on the enemy we all desire they should have.

Let me, therefore, entreat you not to be dissuaded from an attempt on the coast of France; and the greater the object the better, for we have force great enough for every attempt. If it was not to succeed, it will have the object of causing a diversion, will keep the enemy in hot water, and prevent their overwhelming by numbers our allies in Germany. Send all our idle unemployed horse there—send twenty, thirty squadrons—as many as you please, but keep your infantry to be employed elsewhere.

That all health, happiness, and success may attend you, is the hearty prayer of,

My dear Sir, your faithful and

affectionate humble servant,

W. BECKFORD.

MAJOR-GENERAL AMHERST⁽¹⁾ TO BRIGADIER-
GENERAL WOLFE.

Camp, August 6, 1758.

DEAR WOLFE,

A SURVEY of the coast from Kennington Cove to White Point was taken and finished just before my

(¹) Major General Amherst entered the army in 1731, and acted as aid-de-camp to Sir John Ligonier at the battles of Det-

brother⁽¹⁾ set out, and he has taken it with him. I have no copy, but I'll order M. Bastide to have one for you as soon as he can. A survey of the whole I wanted to send at the same time, but what I sent was not half finished. I have ordered one to be taken very exactly, which is about being done. You shall have a copy of it.

La belle saison will get away, indeed! What I wish the most to do is to go to Quebec. I have proposed it to the admiral⁽²⁾, who is the best judge whether or no we can get up there, and yesterday he seemed to think it impracticable.

tingen, Fontenoy, and Roucoux, and in the same capacity to the Duke of Cumberland, at Lafeldt and Hastenbech. In 1756, he became major-general, and colonel of the fifteenth regiment of foot; and, in the early part of this year, was selected by Mr. Pitt to command the land forces about to be employed in the expedition against Louisburgh. In 1760, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America; in 1772, made lieutenant-general of the ordnance; in 1776, created Baron Amherst of Holmesdale, in the county of Kent; in 1778, appointed commander-in-chief of the land forces in Great Britain; in 1788, created Baron Amherst of Montreal, in Kent, with remainder to his nephew; and in 1796, promoted to the rank of field-marshal. He died in 1797, at the age of eighty-one.

(1) Captain William Amherst, father of the present Earl Amherst. He afterwards became a lieutenant-general, and adjutant-general of the forces. He died in 1781.

(2) The Hon. Edward Boscawen, third son of Hugh, first Viscount Falmouth, and grandfather of the present Earl. In February, he had been made admiral of the blue, and appointed to command the naval forces sent to North America. He had already distinguished himself at the taking of Porto Bello, at Carthagena, and at the engagement with the French fleet off Cape Finisterre. He died of a fever, in 1761, in his fiftieth year.

The ships for St. John's the admiral has promised I shall have as soon as possible. I hope to get two ships away to Espagnolle to-morrow, and j'espère que la garnison fera un commencement d'être embarquée. I dine at the admiral's to-day, and am always

Yours, &c.

JEFF. AMHERST.

MAJOR-GENERAL AMHERST TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL
WOLFE.

Camp, August 8, 1758.

DEAR WOLFE,

I HAVE your letter this morning, to which I can say no more to you than what I have already done; that my first intentions and hopes were, after the surrender of Louisburgh, to go with the whole army (except what is absolutely necessary for Louisburgh) to Quebec, as I am convinced 'tis the best thing we could do, if practicable. The next were to pursue my orders as to future operations, and this affair unluckily happening at Ticonderoga⁽¹⁾, I quitted the thoughts of the future operations in part, as ordered, to assist Major General Abercrombie, by sending five or six regiments to him,

(1) The repulse of General Abercrombie, commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, with the loss of two thousand men.

which I told Brigadier Lawrence he should command, in case we could not go to Quebec, and at the same time to send to the river St. John's in the bay of Fundy, and two or three battalions only up the river St. Lawrence.

I have proposed this to the admiral from the day after the surrender of the town, and I am thoroughly convinced he will not lose one moment's time in pursuing every thing for expediting and forwarding the service. I told the admiral I should be glad to send away a battalion or two to the bay of Fundy immediately; and he will do it as soon as he can, but says he must get some of the garrison away first; and he certainly is the best judge of what can be done with the shipping. My wishes are to hasten every thing for the good of the service, and I have not the least doubt but Mr. Boscawen will do the same. Whatever schemes you may have, or information that you can give, to quicken our motions, your communicating of them would be very acceptable, and will be of much more service than your thoughts of quitting the army; which I can by no means agree to, as all my thoughts and wishes are confined at present to pursuing our operations for the good of his Majesty's service; and I know nothing that can tend more to it than your assisting in it. I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

JEFF. AMHERST.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO MR. PITT.

(Private.)

Coesveldt, August 15, 1758.

DEAR SIR,

GIVE me leave to return you my most sincere thanks for Colonel Brown, who is just arrived. We came here by excessive long marches, and four days such a heavy rain without the least intermission, as I never saw before. The foot were obliged to march all the way up to their middles in water, and not a dry spot to lie on at night. However, these two last fine days have quite recovered the men, but the horses are in a bad condition.

I found here Major-general Furstenburg with about two thousand men. Prince Ferdinand is at a place called Buckhalt, about twenty English miles from this, and will be here in a day or two. At present I know nothing of our future operations ; some plan or other I make no doubt of the Prince's having, to prevent our being surrounded by M. Contade's army in our front, and Prince de Soubise in our rear ; which, if not avoided, may be the case, should the French repass the Rhine after us.

The moment any thing passes, or is likely to happen, I will write again. I am, with great esteem,

Your most sincere,

and faithful humble servant,

MARLBOROUGH.

THE EARL OF BUTE TO MR. PITT.

[August 20, 1758.]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I FEEL most sensibly this cruel reverse, and the loss of so many gallant men⁽¹⁾; but when I reflect upon the part they have acted, I congratulate my country and my friend on the revival of that spirit, which in former times was so conspicuous in this island. I think this check, my dear Pitt, affects you too strongly. The general and the troops have done their duty, and appear, by the numbers lost, to have fought with the greatest intrepidity; to have tried all that men could do to force their way. The commander seems broken-hearted with being forced to a retreat.

Compare this with some former actions. There, indeed, we had no brave men to regret; blushes came instead of tears, and indignation took the place of sorrow. The same spirit that took Louisburgh fought this battle. The event of war is always doubtful, and perhaps greater thanks are due to you, my worthy friend, for the revival of that courage which, in an unfortunate hour, has lost some brave lives, than for the getting an easy victory over a timid enemy. Valour was despised, America

(¹) The repulse of General Abercrombie at Ticonderoga.

neglected, and you left single-handed to plead the cause of both. Look, then, with joy upon the fruit of your own virtue, and let not fortune depress a mind, the storms and factions of the worst of times cannot shake.

If I have been tedious on this topic, impute it to my friendship, and let me make you some amends, by giving you the very words of part of a letter received this morning from a young Prince, on whom the being of this country depends. It was on receiving the melancholy news: — “I fear this check will prevent Abercrombie’s pushing to Crown Point⁽¹⁾; but in this, as in every thing else, I rely entirely on Providence, and the gallant spirit of my countrymen. Continuing to trust in that superior help, I make no doubt, that if I mount this throne, I shall still, by restoring the love of virtue and religion, make this country great and happy, &c.”

Adieu, my dear Pitt,

Your ever most affectionate,

BUTE.

Sunday.

(¹) In the following summer General Amherst, now become commander-in-chief of the forces in America, marched, at the head of about twelve thousand regulars and provincials, against Crown Point and Ticonderoga. Upon which, the French abandoned the former to the British troops on the 26th of July, and the latter on the 4th of August.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO MR. PITT.

Coesveldt, August 18, 1758.

SIR,

I WISH I may not make you detest the sight of a letter from me, lest it should be filled with my distresses ; but who should I address myself to when aggrieved but you, to whom I am already most obliged ? I believe my present complaint may be called, in some degree, a national one, though I have the misfortune to be the person most immediately injured. You may remember that, on Lord George Sackville's being permitted to come with the troops to Germany, major-generals Kilmanseg and Oberg were made lieutenant-generals, with their commissions ante-dated, lest they should be commanded by an Englishman, whom they had formerly had the *pas* of ; which did not make the least murmur from him, or any one in the English Army.

Judge then, Sir, how I must be astonished and afflicted to find, at my arrival here, lieutenant-general Spoken, whom I had commanded in this very country, just made a general of foot over my head ! This is such a disgrace to me in the face of the whole allied army, that I most earnestly intreat you to lay my humble request at his Majesty's feet, which is, that he will either be so good as to give me a commission of general, dated from the time I was made master-general of the ordnance, from which moment I have, by his orders, the

same honours and guards as a general, or permit me to retire from the army, and all employments for ever. I hope, if I am thought unworthy of that rank personally, I may be excused, as an Englishman, for not quite tamely submitting to so strong a mark of the English being thought fit for nothing, but to be cleavers of wood and drawers of water to the Hanoverians.

If I have said any thing too strong forgive me ; for my heart is so full and so sore, it would burst if I was not to open it to you, whom I sincerely esteem and honour ; and believe me to be, with great truth,

Your most sincere and faithful

humble servant,

MARLBOROUGH.

THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE GRENVILLE TO MR. PITT.

Wotton, August 23, 1758.

I SHARE indeed with you, my dear Pitt, in the unhappy news contained in your last letter, nor do I wonder at the melancholy impression it has made upon your mind ; though I flatter myself that, in consequence of the great force employed, and the many various plans formed to distress the enemy, our affairs in that part of the world still wear a promising aspect. Some of those plans have been attended with a success equal to our

wishes, and others of them seem to be in a prosperous way; notwithstanding which, this misfortune must be sensibly felt.

The great number of officers and men in the regular troops killed and wounded, and particularly the grievous loss we have sustained in the death of Lord Howe (¹), are circumstances that would cloud a victory, and must therefore aggravate our concern for a repulse. I was not personally acquainted with Lord Howe, but I admired his virtuous, gallant character, and lament his loss accordingly. I cannot help thinking it peculiarly unfortunate for his country and his friends, that he should fall in the first action of this war, before his spirit and his example, and the success and glory which, in all human probability, would have attended them, had produced their full effect on our own troops and those of the enemy. But, to do justice to so many brave men as have fallen upon this occasion, the officers and troops of that army seem to have been animated with a zeal and spirit that required no additional incitement. This is a consideration which, whilst it increases our

(¹) George Augustus, third Viscount Howe. This brave officer was killed in a skirmish, in passing through a thick and almost impenetrable wood, in which was a French party lying in ambush. "He was," says General Abercrombie, "the first man that fell; and as he was, very deservedly, universally beloved and respected throughout the whole army, it is easy to conceive the grief and consternation his untimely fall occasioned." He was succeeded in his title and estate by his brother, the Commodore.

concern for this misfortune, makes us hope for better success hereafter.

You have a melancholy task indeed, affected as you justly are with this public and private sorrow, to communicate the death of Lord Howe to a brother that most tenderly loved him. No man living could do it with so much gentleness and affection; with so much honour and credit, both to the dead and to the living; and yet, perhaps a more unfeeling hand, even that of a common express or clerk of an office, would be less felt. Every circumstance of praise, every honourable testimonial of grief and of affection, must augment his present sense of this cruel blow.

I cannot go on with this subject, my dear Pitt; the unhappy resemblance touches me too nearly, and renews a pang which no time can erase.⁽¹⁾ I trust in God that Colonel Bradstreet will succeed⁽²⁾; and if General Amherst can proceed up the river, this campaign may end as gloriously as it has begun with Louisburg. We *wish*, most earnestly we hope, but we do not depend upon seeing you here; but if we do not, I shall endeavour to see you in London.

Adieu, my dear Pitt. I have a visitant just come

() Mr. Grenville alludes to the death of his brother Thomas, who was killed in the action with the French fleet off Cape Finisterre. See p. 23, note.

(²) On the 27th of August, Colonel Bradstreet did succeed in taking Fort Frontenac, on Lake Ontario, and that without the loss of a man.

in, which puts me in mind that I have already writ four sides of paper. I am ever

Your most affectionate brother,

GEORGE GRENVILLE.

COLONEL CLIVE⁽¹⁾ TO JOHN PAYNE, ESQ.

Calcutta, August 24, 1758.

DEAR SIR,

MY letters to the committee concerning the great and happy event lately effected in this kingdom are so very full, that any thing I can write on that subject will be but a repetition of what is therein contained. I must therefore refer you to them for a particular detail of the late revolution.

I have already hinted my intention of coming home to the committee, on account of my indifferent state of health; and I may further add to you,

(¹) Afterwards Lord Clive. This letter was addressed to the chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India company, and by him forwarded to Mr. Pitt; who, in the debate on the army estimates, had burst out, according to Horace Walpole, into an Eastern panegyric:—"There he found Watson, Pococke, and Clive:—what astonishing success had Watson had with only three ships, which had been laid up for some time on land! *He* did not stay to careen this, and condemn that, but at once sailed into the body of the Ganges. He was supported by Clive, that man, not born for a desk—that heaven-born general,—whose magnanimity, resolution, determination, and execution, would charm a King of Prussia, and whose presence of mind astonished the Indies!"—*Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 276.

Sir, it is so bad this rainy season, that nothing less than the absolute necessity of your affairs can induce me to stay any longer in this unhealthy climate. Indeed, my health has been so much affected for these two months past, I have not been able to give that attention to your interest I could wish. The new Subah's generosity has put me in a condition of enjoying my native country; and the solicitations of all my friends here to return in the squadron is so agreeable to my own wishes, that I should not hesitate one moment accepting their offers, if the interest of my benefactors was not at stake. I do not think of leaving Bengal till the Nabob is more firmly established in his new kingdom. We must again take the field in conjunction with him, sometime in October, and march to the north as soon as he is confirmed from Delhi, and acknowledged by the Mahrattas. I shall then return to the coast with such a part of the forces as may give us the superiority over our enemies in the Carnatic.

It is with great grief of heart I see the civil branch of your affairs carried on with so little economy, diligence, or regularity. Want of capacity in some, and of attention in others, has left this once flourishing settlement in a most deplorable condition. The great power of the mayor's court has introduced, what is falsely called, the spirit of liberty here; which spirit of liberty has degenerated into anarchy and confusion, and been productive of profligacy and idleness. A kind

of levelling principle reigns among all the inhabitants of this place. The indolence and meekness of spirit of your present governor ⁽¹⁾ has put him below the meanest inhabitant of Calcutta. His opinions, good or bad, are overruled, his orders disobeyed, and himself despised. Without a due subordination no government can subsist. Indeed, Sir, strong words in paragraphs and threats of resentment will be of no signification here. The most speedy and vigorous steps must be taken by the Company, if they mean to effect thorough reformation in Bengal; for without it, all the great advantages, so lately gained by the sword, will be again put to the risk.

All England should be ransacked for a man of integrity and abilities to come out as supervisor-general; and, for fear of accident, he should have a second, little inferior to himself. Let temptation be put out of his reach, by confining his reward to England, and India will become a source of riches and grandeur to the Company and the nation.

Messieurs Manningham and Frankland are the only men of rank here, whose diligence and abilities can be depended upon. The integrity of the former is proof against the strictest inquiry. I cannot answer for his resolution. Courage is the gift of nature, and I do not think that any civilian can be made answerable for what was never in his possession. The ill effects arising from want of

(1) Drake.

resolution in any of your servants in time of danger, may easily be remedied by investing your president and a certain number of officers with the sole power of defending your garrisons when attacked, and rendering them responsible for their conduct to a general court-martial. Let it be a standing order in all your principal settlements, that no fortification be given up to your enemy without a breach made, and standing one assault (a want of provision and ammunition only excepted). In time of peace, Mr. Manningham will always be a credit and honour to his employers; in time of war, the above restriction will leave your succeeding presidents without a power of injuring or discrediting your affairs.

It would give me much concern to have an arbitrary construction, proceeding from my present profession, put on these general remarks. My turn of mind is so very different, and I have the liberty of an Englishman so strongly implanted in my nature, that I would have the civil all in all, at all times and in all places (cases of immediate danger excepted); where your principal settlements are attacked, I would then have those who are paid for defending your properties and estates, made answerable for the consequences.

Be persuaded, Sir, the above are the sentiments of one whose thoughts are upon England; of one made independent by the Nabob's generosity, who has no friends or relations to serve, or any interest to promote but that of his masters and benefactors.

Captains Fowler and Macleod deserve the Company's favour, by the zeal they have shown for the Company's interest during the present expedition.

Dear Sir, I am, with great esteem,

Your most obedient humble servant,

ROBERT CLIVE.

THE HON. GEORGE TOWNSHEND TO MR. PITT.

Bristol, August 27, 1758.

DEAR SIR,

BEFORE I enter upon the few lines of business which occasions me now to trouble you, I cannot omit presenting you with my warmest congratulations upon the possession of Louisburg; and I most sincerely rejoice that you and my friend Lord Ligonier have found officers equal to the important and decisive work you intend for their execution. As far as I can judge, the nation is as ready to support, as the army is ambitious to be employed in measures, so replete with glory and every solid advantage to this country; at least, that part of mankind with which I am acquainted is thus disposed. This, Sir, is a national spirit, in a great measure of your own raising, and those who feel they possess it promise themselves that it will, under your auspices, be carried to perfection, and to the fulfilling that good work which it is necessary for the security and honour of this country should be performed.

Mr. Howe being, as I observe from the papers, now returned from Cherbourg — a second subject of congratulation — and that he is preparing to sail again, permit me to request a favour of you, if it be intended that any thing should be undertaken this year in those parts of France, upon which you conferred with Mr. Annesley. You may remember, Sir, that I solicited an audience for him from you on this affair.⁽¹⁾ He appeared to me so clear and so precise in his intelligence, that I judged him worthy of it. Your own, and the knowledge which others may have of the disposition of the force of France at this moment, may, together with the season of the year, determine the propriety of this service; but I own, such was his description of it to me, and such is my reliance upon the justness of that description, that I shall think myself fortunate in being employed upon it together with him. When I reflect upon the detriment the enemy will receive on many accounts, I cannot but think it will prove a very severe blow upon them, as well as no small disappointment to many scarce inferior enemies at home, who have long assiduously affected to discredit, from the beginning of the year, the real utility of these kind of services. I should be glad to be ordered to act as colonel in the line; but rather than not have the honour to be upon that service, if it is now to go forward, I shall be much obliged to you for a letter of particular recommendation to my much

(¹) See p. 323.

respected old colonel, now General Blighe. I was in his regiment, and have the honour to know him.

I own I am anxious for this service. Surely, Sir, the penetrating as far as, permit me to say, the indubitable intelligence of Mr. Annesley describes, will be a severe blow upon France. No one will dislike the success, but the epicures at Arthur's⁽¹⁾. You never were, and I hope never will, be popular there. If this is your object, pray do me the honour to send me on ship board, if possible not merely as a Sir James Lowther⁽²⁾, and even in that light sooner than not at all. I beg the favour of a line to this place, where I have been attending a very good, sick wife.

A word more, and I'll take leave. Our returns for Norfolk being made at last, we, with several other willing counties, beg leave to observe, that if the King's answer to them is delayed the whole month, which by the act may be given in a few days, none of us shall exercise this year. If we receive his Majesty's answer directly, you will hear of several good battalions being formed in a month or two. I am, Sir, with the most perfect esteem,

Your most obliged and affectionate servant,

GEO. TOWNSHEND.

(1) The club in St. James's-street.

(2) "The mode of volunteers," says Walpole, "now revived. Sir James Lowther, master of 40,000*l.* a year, Lord Downe, Sir John Armitage, and Mr. Delaval embarked with the expedition against St. Maloes, — the latter gentleman so ridiculous a character, that it put a stop to a practice which was spreading." In 1784, Sir James Lowther was created Earl of Lonsdale.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO MR. PITT.

Dulmen, Sept. 1, 1758.

DEAR SIR,

I REALLY cannot express how much I feel myself obliged to you for my commission as general, and still more for your very kind letter. I have, by this messenger, wrote to the Duke of Newcastle to thank him for his dispatch.

Our situation at present, with the river Lippe between us and the enemy, is such as can afford no immediate news, yet probably may in a few days. The French are now drawing their camp back towards Wesel, as if they meant to repass the Rhine, yet I cannot think they will for some days, till Prince Soubise has joined them; if they do, they will leave him in a very bad situation. We have the satisfaction here of feeling the effects of the expedition on the coast of France; which has not only prevented their sending any reinforcement to M. Contades's army, but has actually obliged them to recall from the Rhine eighteen battalions and four regiments of cavalry. I am, with great truth, dear Sir,

Your most faithful and

sincere humble servant,

MARLBOROUGH.⁽¹⁾

(1) The Duke did not live to share in the triumph of Minden. A few days after this letter was written, he was seized with a fever, and died on the 28th of October at Munster, in Westphalia. In 1743, at the battle of Dettingen, he had served with

THE EARL OF BUTE TO MR. PITT.

September 8, 1758.

DEAR SIR,

I do assure you I most heartily join in the public joy on this new proof of the great abilities, and amazing resources of the great King of Prussia⁽¹⁾; but this is attended with the disagreeable reflection, that at this and every other battle he has fought, all was at stake. Thank heaven 'tis not so with the true palladium of this country, our naval power. That depends not on the precarious event of one action: that, properly managed, under a Prince that knows its consequence, will ever keep Britain formidable without impoverishing it, and prove a surer means of humbling France, than any other whatever. I make no doubt of General Elliot doing his duty as an officer. With regard to Clerk, I know him well: he must be joined to a general in whom he has confidence, or not thought of. Never was man so cut out for bold and hardy en-

distinction; in 1749, was appointed lord-steward of the household; in 1755, keeper of the privy-seal; and, in the same year, master-general of the ordnance. He became Duke of Marlborough in 1733, as heir to his mother, the daughter and co-heiress of John Churchill, the first duke; and was grandfather of the present. Smollett describes him as having been "brave beyond all question, generous to profusion, and good-natured to excess."

(¹) The defeat of the Russians at Zorndoff, on the 25th of August. The battle lasted from nine in the morning till ten at night.

terprises ; but the person who commands him must think in the same way of him, or the business of Rochefort will return. (1) I ever am, dear Sir,

Most affectionately yours, &c.

BUTE.

M. D'ABREU TO MR. PITT.

Soho Square, ce 11^e Septembre, 1758.

MONSIEUR,

JE me suis apperçu depuis quelque temps, que j'ai eu le malheur de perdre les bonnes graces de S. M. B. Je souhaiterois de me tromper dans ma croyance, mais le fait n'est que trop véritable.

M'ayant présenté à la cour différentes semaines de suite, ce Monarque, bien loin de me continuer l'honneur qu'il me faisoit de me parler, m'évite et me fuit à la vue de tous, adressant même sa parole royale à ceux qui sont à côté de moi, et ayant tout l'air de me mortifier de propos délibéré. Les ministres étrangers l'ont remarqué, et m'ont interrogé le motif ; mais je n'ai pas sçu satisfaire leur curiosité. Je souhaite qu'ils ne croient pas qu'il y a de la mauvaise intelligence entre les deux cours.

Quoique un ministre d'Espagne fasse mauvaise

(1) On the 15th, intelligence was received of the defeat of the British forces under the command of General Blighe, at St. Cas, with the loss of six hundred men killed and wounded, and four hundred prisoners.

figure en se présentant à la cour sur ce pied, et à plus forte raison quand tous ceux qui ont été de la part de S. M. B. auprès du Roi mon maître ont été traités avec la plus grande distinction, je n'ai pas manqué de continuer à y aller, à fin de marquer mon respect et ma vénération pour ce Monarque.

Peut-être que des gens désespérés ou mal intentionnés auront donné contre moi des sinistres insinuations, pour me mettre mal dans l'esprit de S. M. B. Si cela est, il faut que j'ai bien du malheur, puisque ma conduite ne le mérite pas. J'ai toujours fait profession d'agir avec la probité, que j'ai reçu par mon éducation : j'ai été estimé et réputé tel dans tous les pays où j'ai résidé, et je n'ai rien fait en Angleterre qui puisse dementir cette opinion. Avec cette tranquillité d'esprit que donne la probité, et devant quitter ce pays à l'arrivée du Comte de Fuentes ⁽¹⁾, tout autre à ma place prendroit avec moins de chagrin et de peine cet incident ; mais je suis trop délicat, et trop jaloux de ma réputation, pour me montrer insensible aux calomnies.

J'ai cru, Monsieur, devoir rompre le silence et écrire à V. E. sur cette matière, la priant de vouloir bien faire l'usage qu'elle jugera à propos de cette lettre ; mais en même temps de se servir de son contenu, pour détruire dans l'esprit de S. M. B.

(1) On the 30th of May, the King of Spain had appointed the Comte de Fuentes, ambassador to the court of England.

toutes les sinistres et fausses insinuations que mes ennemis aient pu donner contre moi.

Si je m'adresse à V. E. à ce sujet, c'est pour deux raisons ; la première, parcequ' ayant l'honneur d'appartenir à son département, c'est de droit que je l'informe d'une affaire qui ne laisse que d'avoir quelque de ministériale ; mais la seconde et plus principale, parceque je ne saurois confier une affaire de cette nature et de cette importance à une autre personne que V. E., dont les sentimens d'honneur et de probité sont aussi bien connus dans les pays étrangers, qu'ils le sont en Angleterre. J'ajouterai même, que je suis encouragé à cette démarche par les bontés dont V. E. m'honore, et que je lui prie de me continuer ; étant avec le plus grand respect, Monsieur, de V. E..

le très humble et

très obéissant serviteur,

D'ABREU.

WILLIAM BECKFORD, ESQ., TO MR. PITT.

Fonthill, Sept. 11, 1758.

DEAR SIR,

I SHOULD not have troubled you with this letter, could I have done myself the honour of waiting on you as soon as I intended ; but particular business prevents my leaving this place for some time. This last action of the King of Prussia is

glorious indeed. His enemies had almost surrounded him, and drove him into their toils, and nothing but the greatest good conduct, supported by an equal degree of courage, could have extricated him out of such difficulties. We have now reason to hope a happy issue of this campaign. Such events as these should, and I hope will, raise our ardour. France is our object, perfidious France : reduce her power, and Europe will be at rest. This cannot be done in any other way than by destroying those resources from whence she draws money to bribe Germany and the northern powers against their own interest.

I mentioned in my last an attempt to the southward, which I am sure will succeed under a wise and active general, one who shall not delight in calling councils of war — such an one as Amherst has shown himself. Whatever is attempted in that climate must be done *uno impetu* ; a general must fight his men off directly, and not give them time to die by drink and disease ; which has been the case in all our southern expeditions, as I can testify by my own experience, having been a volunteer in the last war. The island I mentioned has but one town of strength : take that, and the whole country is yours ; all the inhabitants must submit for want of food, for they live from hand to mouth, and have not victuals to support themselves and numerous slaves for one month, without a foreign supply. The negroes and stock of that island are worth above four millions sterling, and the conquest

easy ; as I can explain, when I have the pleasure of seeing you. For God's sake, attempt it without delay and noise ; as you may do by a force from the northward. Fix your rendezvous at one of our own islands in the neighbourhood, where you may find pilots, procure intelligence, and may be furnished with negroes in any quantity, to do the drudgery of a camp. *Verbum sat sapienti* ; but to such a one as yourself, half a word is sufficient. Adieu, dear Sir, and believe me to be, as I really am,

Your ever faithful and

affectionate humble servant,

WILL. BECKFORD.

LORD BARRINGTON TO MR. PITT.

Beckett, September 20. 1758.

DEAR SIR,

THERE are lying in the war office orders for two hundred draughts from the three new regiments under General Blighe ; viz. Wolfe's, Lambton's, and Richmond's ; but I have ordered that they shall not be sent till Mr. Tyrwhitt, my deputy, hears from you, as some changes may have happened since I left town, with relation to the disposition then made.

I am very sorry for the brave officers and men whom we have lost ; but I reckon the prisoners as our own again already, because we can immediately exchange them for part of the garrison of

Louisburg, which comes home very opportunely for that purpose. I shall be in town on Saturday or Sunday, and I hope to have the honour of receiving your commands at court on Monday. If I am wanted sooner I will come up at a moment's warning.

The more I consider the new expedition, the more uneasy I am that new corps *only* or even *chiefly* should be depended on for its success ; especially those which have never been out of England. My brother's ⁽¹⁾, which is the strongest and the best of them, and which has had better opportunities of learning the business of soldiers than the others, has never had four hundred men under arms at a time ; because great detachments were continually made from Chatham camp, for guarding prisoners, &c. The draughts from various corps with which these regiments are to be made up are always the worst men in the army, and it requires time to incorporate them well. I have also observed, that raw soldiers just raised are less able to bear the sea, or different climates, or to go through their new business, than men who have been accustomed some time to the army. They resemble horses brought out of a farmer's team, who cannot bear travelling at first, though they are strong and healthy, and go to plough or cart excellently well. If some old regiments cannot be obtained, I wish some of the new ones, which have been on the expedition,

(1) The Hon. John Wildman, major-general in the army, and colonel of the 8th regiment of foot. He died in 1764.

might be sent, if it were only to show the others how to embark and disembark, to which they have been much used this summer. For the like reason it would be useful that some of the ships of Lord Howe's squadron were sent.

Pardon, dear Sir, these hints. It is my duty to give them to you, but I neither have talked or shall talk in the same way to others, knowing well that all which is right is not practicable. I am, with the greatest truth and respect.

Most faithfully yours,

BARRINGTON.

P.S. When the King has fixed on the old regiment which is to go, Lord Ligonier should give it a hint to get in readiness, otherwise a day or two will be lost by my being here. If my lord likes that the order should go through the War-office, I hope he will send directions accordingly to Mr. Tyrwhitt.

SIR JOSEPH YORKE TO MR. PITT.

Hague, September 22. 1758.

SIR,

THE different accounts the Princess Royal has had, as well from M. Hop⁽¹⁾ as from several other persons, and from the reports I have had

(1) Lieutenant-general Hop, Dutch envoy-extraordinary at the court of London.

the honour to make to her of the obliging and friendly part you had acted in the releasing of the Surinam ships⁽¹⁾, has made her Royal Highness insist upon my troubling you with this letter, in order to convey to you directly her very particular acknowledgments for this convincing proof of your regard for her family, and the union between the two nations.

The situation her Royal Highness was in, on account of the unfortunate disputes between England and Holland, and which she so circumstantially submitted to the judgment of his Majesty and his servants, was so critical and embarrassing, that without their kind and speedy intervention, every thing might have been thrown into the utmost confusion, and this country severed, for a time, from its true and natural interest ; which the misfortunes of the times and the force of a party had

(1) For some time, the Dutch had carried on a considerable traffic, not only in taking the fair advantages of their neutrality, but also in supplying the French with naval stores, and transporting the produce of the French sugar colonies to Europe, as carriers hired by the proprietors. The English government, incensed at this unfair commerce, issued orders for the cruizers to arrest all ships of neutral powers, that should have French property on board ; and these orders were executed with rigour and severity. A great number of Dutch ships were taken, and condemned as legal prizes ; and sometimes the owners met with hard measure. Smollett says, that the princess spared no pains to adjust the differences between the two countries, and that her healing counsels were of great efficacy in preventing matters from coming to extremities.

very near effectuated. At present, her Royal Highness flatters herself that expedients may be found to heal our differences, and to obtain, on the one hand, some satisfaction for England in points essential to their security and interest, whilst the republic, on the other, may be secured from those grievances which appear too well-founded, and which well-meaning people in both countries wish to be set right.

Her Royal Highness is persuaded that your candour, your zeal for the protestant interest, as well as your attachment to every branch of his Majesty's royal family ⁽¹⁾, will secure to her your further support and assistance in the prosecution of this necessary work; the completing of which will strengthen her hands, and enable her to be of more service hereafter to that cause she wishes so well to, and in which you, Sir, have acted so steady and honourable a part.

Give me leave to take this opportunity, which the executing of her Royal Highness's orders gives

(1) The Princess Anne, eldest daughter of George II. In 1734, she was married to the Prince of Orange. Upon which occasion Horace Walpole relates, that the King, after he had chosen him for his son-in-law, being perfectly aware of the prince's great deformity, could not help, in the honesty of his heart and the coarseness of his expression, apprising the princess how hideous a bridegroom she was to expect, and even giving her permission to refuse him. She replied, that she would marry him if he were a baboon. "Well then," said the King, "there is baboon enough for you." On the death of the prince in October 1751, the administration of the government devolved upon the princess, as governante during her son's minority.

me, to return you my most humble thanks for the distinguished favour and indulgence you were pleased to show me when I was last in England. I should be very unhappy to do any thing which could in any degree lessen that partiality you had the goodness to express for me, and which it will be one of the greatest points of my ambition to deserve the continuance of. Every body knows, that zeal and assiduity in the service of our King and country are the surest way to your favour; and it is upon that foundation I shall endeavour to merit it, as well as by seizing every opportunity of proving the unfeigned respect and veneration with which I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obliged, most obedient,

most devoted humble servant,

JOSEPH YORKE.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO EARL TEMPLE.

Newcastle House, September 28. 1758.

MY DEAR LORD,

I RECEIVED, on Thursday last, the honour of your Lordships letter of the 19th, and should have answered it sooner, but that I was willing to have some conversation with Mr. Pitt upon the subject of it.

I must begin with returning my most sincere thanks for the goodness and friendship which you express for me, in every part of the letter. I have

had too many proofs of it to entertain the least doubt about it; I only wish it were in my power to make a suitable return. I shall always endeavour to do it whenever it is. I know the frankness and sincerity of your heart, and therefore I am sure your Lordship will not dislike my laying before you, very truly, all that I know relating to that which is the immediate object of your letter.

I cannot avoid, in the first place, expressing my concern at the situation which your Lordship hints at in your letter. Were it in my power to remove or alter it, I am sure you do me the justice to think I should employ all my best endeavours for that purpose. As to the two vacant garters⁽¹⁾, I do not in the least know for whom the King may design them. I should think, in the present circumstances, if Prince Ferdinand can and will accept of one, he will undoubtedly have it. My Lord Holderness, who has now been secretary of state near eight years, asked the King for the garter so long ago as 1752, when my Lord Lincoln had one, and either then or since has certainly received favourable answers from his Majesty. There has been one creation since of four, and a remarkable one, last year, of my Lord Waldegrave only. I must do my Lord Holderness the justice to say, that his behaviour at a certain time, which neither your Lordship nor I can disapprove, was I am afraid

(1) By the death of the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Carlisle.

one great cause of his disappointment.⁽¹⁾ He will think it hard to be disappointed a second time, and especially from one quarter. Long before I had the happiness of being connected with your Lordship in the manner I am now, and I believe at a time when there was not much appearance of it, my friend, the Marquis of Rockingham, asked this honour himself of the King, and had a gracious answer. Your Lordship may imagine that then, in those circumstances, and ever since, from the strong part which my Lord Rockingham took the last year with us, I could not refuse his Lordship my good wishes, and any little assistance that was in my power.

This, therefore, is my situation ; I lament it now extremely, as it may make it more difficult for me to do, what otherwise I should most zealously, employ any little credit I may have to promote what your Lordship wishes. But, was that out of the question, I own I should fear there would be great difficulties in this affair at present. I will lay the whole before my Lady Yarmouth, who has, upon all occasions, showed her desire to support the present connected administration, and I am sure would be glad particularly to show her regard for your Lordship. I feel myself under difficulties, and consequently under great uneasiness. I have great obligations to your Lordship, for the

(1) His resignation of office in 1757, without giving the King the least previous notice.—See Waldegrave's *Memoirs*, p. 120.

many marks of your friendship ; I know your goodness of heart will feel for me, with regard to others, who have also laid me under great obligations to them.

I am, with the greatest sincerity, respect, and affection, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

humble servant,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

EARL TEMPLE TO MR. PITT.

Stowe, October 1. 1758.

MY DEAR PITT,

THE warmth and ardour with which you are used to enter into all my desires, instead of tempting me to make you a party in my present business (the true motives to which George has already told you), has been my principal motive so industriously to keep you out of it. In every other light I should have courted your advice and asked your assistance. If any thing new occurs, be so good as to send your letter to my house, with orders to forward it to me by the first carrier or privy-seal express.

My kind love, with that of the brotherhood and sister, to you and Lady Hester, and believe me, ever most affectionately,

Your loving brother,

TEMPLE.

More I do not *write*. The sage Mr. James, when he comes to town, *as he knows my whole heart*, will open to you every spring of it; though he cannot add any thing, I think, to what you have been told already by the other sage. Pray be so good as to let me have again his Grace's letter.

MR. PITT TO EARL TEMPLE.

Monday, 4 o'clock. [Oct. 2. 1758.]

MY DEAR LORD,

I AM just returned from Kensington, and have the pleasure to find the packet left by your Lordship's servant. Whether the letter, whereof there is a copy, had reached his Grace when I saw him to-day I know not, but he has not uttered a syllable to me on the matter in question ever since he read to me his answer to your Lordship, which I send back herewith. What passed between his Grace and me on that occasion Mr. James will have related.

Ten thousand thanks, my dear Lord, for taking the unnecessary trouble to give me at all the motives of your silence to me on this business; and ten thousand more for the kindness and affectionate nature of those motives. Lady Hester claims warmly her place in this hasty letter, and we jointly offer kind love and compliments, *à tutti*

quanti, brothers and sisters. I am ever most affectionately, dear Lord Temple's loving brother,

W. PITT.

I will not fail to acquaint your Lordship of any new occurrence in the measure mentioned.⁽¹⁾

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO MR. PITT.

(*Private.*)

Madrid, Monday, October 9. 1758.

SIR,

THE Duke of Savoy⁽²⁾, in my last audience, having recommended to me to assist in placing one of his sisters upon this throne (for the late Queen⁽³⁾ was then known to be given over), I told M. Wall what had passed with his Royal Highness upon that subject. I gave true characters of those three deserving princesses; but I said that I mentioned this only as a private business; for I had no instructions from my court upon it. I find the ministry will, at the time they solicit his Catholic Majesty to marry, leave him to his own choice,

(1) The two vacant garters were ultimately given to Prince Ferdinand and the Marquis of Rockingham.

(2) Charles Emanuel. He had succeeded to the dukedom on the abdication of his father in 1730.

(3) Daughter of John V. of Portugal. Her Majesty died on the 27th of August, without issue.

unless he ask their advice. Then they will lay before their royal master the different matches that are proper at this time. M. Wall said, that the Catholic King was strongly inclined to the house of Savoy, but that if a princess was brought from Turin, it must be a young one.⁽¹⁾

I am, with great truth and respect, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

BRISTOL.

THOMAS POTTER, ESQ., TO MR. PITT.

Prior Park, October 25. 1758.

DEAR SIR,

YOUR cordial letter gave me strength and spirits to read it ; it was, indeed, a cordial in every sense of the word ; but nothing can give me the power of expressing how much I owe to your and Lady Hester's friendship and goodness. Painful as life

(¹) Ferdinand, so far from selecting a young princess for a second wife, was so deeply affected with the loss of his first, that he renounced all company and neglected all business, immuring himself in a chamber at Villa Viciosa, where he gave loose to the most extravagant sorrow. He abstained from food and rest, would not allow his beard to be shaved, and rejected every attempt at consolation. The violence of his grief soon produced an incurable malady, under which he lingered till the 10th of August in the following year, when he expired. By his will, he appointed his brother Don Carlos, King of Naples, successor to the crown of Spain, and nominated the Queen Dowager regent, until his arrival.

is become to me, I would struggle hard to continue it, if I could hope to answer any part of the debt I owe you; but this is impossible, and I feel myself reduced to the distressful state of being miserable in myself, and an object of constant anxiety to those I love. Yet this is not the worst. My doctor (Barry of Dublin) whom I think a sensible man, tells me this must yet continue for years; and by way of flattering me, condemns me to walk on the earth a useless load to others, and a wretched being to myself.

I have been obliged to renounce the project in Bedfordshire, by which I have renounced an establishment for my son; for to him I should have resigned at the general election, depending for myself on the friendship of my good host, who is more to me than a father. This you will think is some disappointment; yet it is the less, as my place at Oakhampton would not, it seems, have been filled (as I trusted it would) by one of your name and family. That name I must honour while I live. Feeble as my voice is, it shall express my reverence and affection, and it would be glorious to me, if my last breath could give a public testimony of my attachment to you.

Your most faithful,

THOMAS POTTER.⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ Mr. Potter died at Ridgmont, in Bedfordshire, on the 17th of June, in the following year.

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE TO MR. PITT.

Munster, November 11. 1758.

DEAR SIR,

I HAD the honour of your letter, at the same time I received my commission for commanding the troops here.⁽¹⁾ I must confess, notwithstanding the deference I shall always have to your advice, that I felt hurt and disappointed at the alterations made in the instructions, especially as I know it was expected here, by some who have the best private court intelligence, that something marking personal disapprobation would happen upon this occasion. However, I should be blamed by you, after what you have said, if I declined undertaking this command. If difficulties arise in the course of it, from a notion prevailing among the troops, that I have not the necessary favour and support, I then hope I may expect your assistance and friendship in obtaining leave for me quietly to retire from it.

I have endeavoured to express what I feel upon this event in my letter to Lord Holderness, with that duty and respect to the King as may give him as little offence as possible. Now, give me leave to thank you in the strongest manner for having endeavoured to obtain this command for me with-

(1) Upon the death of the Duke of Marlborough, on the 28th of October, the command of the British forces in the army of Prince Ferdinand devolved on Lord George Sackville; between whom and the Prince, there was understood to be little cordiality.

out the least disagreeable circumstance attending it. I am really concerned that my friends are to be so often troubled on my account. I have the satisfaction of finding that, as far as relates to Prince Ferdinand, I shall meet with no difficulty whatever. His attention and goodness to me, since our first joining the army, has been so particular, that I shall always look upon it as an honour to me; and his expressions upon my receiving the commission were most flattering, so that, upon the whole, I may compound for a little ill-humour at home.

The fine weather we have lately had is very fortunate, since we are obliged to continue encamped. The French army is still at Ham and Lugnen, though they pretend to say that several regiments of cavalry and much baggage has been out to Wesel and Dusseldorf. The Prince does not yet know whether they mean to leave a body of troops on this side the Rhine or not. As far as I can judge, he rather thinks there will be a cantonment between the Rhine and the Roer, for the support of the Prince de Soubise's army, but indeed his intelligence seems very contradictory upon that subject; a few days now must show the real intentions of the enemy.

The Duke of Newcastle is very properly alarmed at the immense expense of the contracts for forage, &c. in this country. It is really shameful; but the King, as elector, is as ill-served as we have been. I have taken the liberty of saying a good deal upon

the subject to his Grace; and till we oblige the countries we are in possession of to furnish certain quantities of forage at the rate the general pleases to fix, we never can go on with the smallest appearance of economy. The French take this method, and so does every other power; but those employed by his Majesty have thought either that the forage was not to be had, or that it would be more agreeable to him to raise contributions in money. They have accordingly fixed this bishopric pretty high; but in the long run they will pay at least three times more by paying the exorbitant prices they have hitherto done for forage. At the same time, the country has been ill-treated, and contrary to stipulation; for upon paying the contribution, the army was to have been supplied from magazines. The commissariat could not find hay for the troops, so under that pretext we have been obliged to forage the country, and the peasants have been cruelly pillaged; for if you once give an army leave to provide for itself, it is difficult to confine them to the taking only what is allowed, or necessary for its support. You cannot conceive how much the discipline of the army in general has suffered by this management. I have not spoken quite so plain to the Duke of Newcastle, as I did not choose to say any thing upon the head of contributions. I shall be very happy if I have leave to pay my respects to you in London. I am, dear Sir,

Your faithful humble servant,

GEO. SACKVILLE.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL WOLFE TO MR. PITT.

St. James's Street, November 22, 1758.

SIR,

SINCE my arrival in town, I have been told that your intentions were to have continued me upon the service in America. The condition of my health and other circumstances made me desire to return at the end of the campaign, and by what my Lord Ligonier did me the honour to say, I understood it was to be so. General Amherst saw it in the same light.

I take the freedom to acquaint you, that I have no objection to serving in America, and particularly in the river St. Lawrence, if any operations are to be carried on there. The favour I ask is only to be allowed a sufficient time to repair the injury done to my constitution by the long confinement at sea, that I may be the better able to go through the business of the next summer.

I have the honour to be, with the utmost respect,

Sir, your most obedient,

and most humble servant,

JAM. WOLFE. (1)

(1) A few days after this letter was written, Wolfe was promoted to the rank of major-general, and placed at the head of the forces destined to act against Quebec.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO MR. PITT.

(Private.)

Madrid, November —, 1758.

SIR,

I SEIZE on the earliest opportunity of returning you my sincere thanks for the honour of your very obliging private letter of the 13th of October, which I received by the last post, and of assuring you how proud I am of the friendly sentiments that are contained in it.

The Conde de Fuentes, to whom I translated what concerned him, has desired me to offer you his best thanks and respects, and to say how sincerely impatient he is to be known to you, as well as ambitious of deserving the good opinion of one for whom he has the greatest esteem. I have endeavoured to do you justice, Sir, by acquainting not only the Conde but the Spanish ministers here, that a true zeal for the service of your country and for the general good of Europe, was the motive which influenced all your actions.

It is not possible to give any guess when the Conde can receive his instructions, since it is necessary for the Catholic King to sign them. M. Wall is very uneasy at not being able to dispatch them, and to recall at the same time the Marquis d'Abreu. I cannot name M. Wall, without acquainting you, Sir, that nothing can surpass the cordiality and confidence with which he treats me ;

but I have had the strongest proofs of both, since I have seen him alone ; for at the beginning of my being in this country Colonel de Cosne always followed me into his closet when I was sent for, and the single time I perceived M. Wall the least moved, when upon the subject of our privateers, was when Colonel de Cosne took the lead in the discourse whilst I was present, and occasioned the Spanish minister's expressing himself to him, but not to me, with the warmth I mentioned in one of my public letters. As I had a mind to try my own ground, I that day let his Majesty's secretary of the embassy play the principal part which he had begun ; and by seldom joining with him, but which I did sometimes, not to make my silence too remarkable, I drew not the least harsh term upon myself. Since that time I have always gone into the closet alone ; and if Colonel de Cosne had persevered in accompanying me, it was settled by M. Wall, through the Conde de Fuentes, that he was to come on extraordinary days, and meet me by myself half way between Villa Viciosa and Madrid.

I hope, Sir, you will not disapprove of my determining not to content myself with the name of the King's ambassador, and of my resolution to be so in reality. I have, for that reason, not suffered even one of the office letters I have written to M. Wall, to be penned by any other than myself, although Colonel de Cosne had offered me for my signing two he had drawn up ; but I

think I should be wanting in my duty to the King, and to those whom I am indebted to for my promotion, not to let it be seen what I am capable of doing. If I am not fit for this post, I ought not to be employed in this important kingdom. I am responsible for every part of his Majesty's business which passes through my hands, and I will act to the best of my judgment, without a coadjutor. I have nothing of a pecuniary advantage in view which makes me desire to continue in the way of life I have chosen. I own I have a sincere desire of rendering so essential a service to my country, as that of promoting a union and settling a good correspondence between the two crowns, so necessary for their mutual benefit. I can at the same time feel the unpleasantness of Colonel de Cosne's situation. It is disagreeable, after having played even what was known to be only a temporary first part, to move afterwards in a second sphere, especially with one who is determined to act for himself. From all that M. Wall has said to me, I flatter myself, Sir, you will find things take a different turn between both courts from what they have had for almost the last two years ; particularly when the Conde de Fuentes can have the advantage of negotiating with you.

I beg of you, Sir, to forgive this long letter. You may judge of my entire confidence in you, by the manner in which I have opened myself. As I mean nothing but what I think is right, I shall never apprehend to disclose my thoughts to one of your

judgment and of your candour. Believe me, Sir, I honour and esteem you most sincerely. The more I know of you from my own experience, the more I have observed of your manner of acting, in power as well as out of employment, the more I am ambitious of the title of your friend; which, if you honour me with the name of, you will ever find me most gratefully, as I shall ever be most respectfully, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

BRISTOL.

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE TO THE EARL OF
HOLDERNESSE.

Munster, December 7, 1758.

MY DEAR LORD,

I REJOICE to hear of your recovery. Why would you write to me when it was in the least inconvenient to you? I thank you for your intentions of getting me leave to go to England, when you found it proper to propose it to his Majesty. Had you sent it to me conditionally, I should certainly not have made use of it improperly. In that you do me justice: you are the best judge when to ask it. We are at present in perfect tranquillity, and I see nothing likely to disturb it. I could now wish I was at liberty to set out, as I think in three or four days I can be of no immediate use here. I fancy at least I could do

some good in England, in regard to our future proceedings : but I shall say no more upon a subject that must be determined by this time.

We are in no small difficulty about subsisting in this ruined country ; I mean not in regard to forage particularly. The States really do their utmost, but the arrangements of the commissariat are not the most able or satisfactory. Prince Ferdinand was sensible of your politeness in ordering me to make your excuses to him for not writing with your own hand ; indeed, all attentions of that sort are well bestowed upon him. He is very happy in hearing of the transactions of the first day of the session. I had some little account of what passed in the House of Commons, and I explained it to him as well as I could, and he is satisfied that proper care will be taken of his army. ⁽¹⁾

I am glad you approve of my accepting the commission in the manner I did. I should be unhappy if upon that or any other occasion I met with your disapprobation. I hope soon to see you and thank you for your repeated goodness to me. I am, my dear Lord,

Your faithful humble servant,

GEORGE SACKVILLE.

(1) In the addresses of both Houses, Prince Ferdinand was commended by name. "The parliament," writes Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, "is all harmony : Pitt provoked, called for, defied objections ; promised enormous expense, demanded never to be judged by events. Universal silence left him arbiter of his own terms. In short, at present he is absolute master, and if he can coin twenty millions, may command them."—Vol. iii. p. 284.

WILLIAM BECKFORD ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Fonthill, December 18, 1758.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE taken the liberty to enclose these few lines under cover to my agent Captain Thomas Collett, lest the curiosity of impertinent people should open my letter, if directed to the secretary of state. Ever since I arrived at this place I have been constantly ruminating on our present situation, and am confident we have it in our power to put an end in one campaign to the war in North America, by undertaking, as soon as the season will permit, the siege of Quebec, with a sufficient number of men and a good train of artillery, under able and zealous engineers. If this be done, I will venture my head the conquest will be found as easy as that of Louisburgh; for the navigation of the river St. Lawrence is very open, and practicable at a proper season; and if I mistake not, every blundering French navigator ventures up as far as the island of Orleans without a pilot, and we can have as many as we want, in case we look out in time.

While the siege of Quebec is undertaking, a large body of provincials mixed with some regulars should remain at Fort William Henry on Lake George, within thirty miles of Ticonderoga, in order to bridle that garrison, and prevent their going to the assistance of Quebec; and small parties,

of eight or ten men each, may be detached from Fort William Henry, to watch the motions of the French, and give timely notice, if any thing is to be attempted against Crown Point.

After Quebec is taken, Montreal is to be attempted. It is but a hundred miles distant, and water carriage for vessels of a hundred and fifty tons burthen the whole distance; by which means the fatigue of marching in a rugged or woody country will be avoided. This has been unfortunately the case in all our late fruitless attempts; when, if success had attended our undertakings, nothing decisive would have been the consequence; but we must in the end, after all our expense of men and money, have been obliged to have ended where we ought to have begun. By taking of Quebec and Montreal, the two great heads of Canada and of the French power in North America are destroyed; and consequently the limbs of that body must wither and decay without any farther fighting. And thus you will make an end of the war in North America, and for ever establish the good opinion mankind have of your abilities and public spirit.

Dear Sir, let no persuasion or plausible reason determine you to leave the plan of operations by the river St. Lawrence. To go by the lakes, through wild and almost inaccessible forests, has already proved dangerous, tedious, and expensive, will prolong the war, and at the same time enrich your commanders and contractors. What is more, we have seen that our regulars do not fight

well in woods; the Indian yell is horrid to their ears, and soon throws them into confusion. If France had the superiority at sea we now enjoy, they would not leave us a single province or colony in all North and South America. There is a brave, gallant officer, by name Winslow, who has acted as general in North America, and done signal service. This man is in England, and is only a captain on half pay. I wish you would think of him: he might furnish you with useful hints.

If I had not tired your patience, I would hint some ideas that occur to me, concerning the island of Corsica; but I am sure you are as much fatigued with reading as I am with writing. I shall therefore bid you adieu, being, dear Sir,

Most faithfully and affectionately yours,

W. BECKFORD.

MAJOR-GENERAL WOLFE TO MR. PITT.

Bath, December 24, 1758.

SIR,

IN a packet of letters from North America there are two which contain some interesting circumstances, as they throw light upon the state of men's minds in those parts. They are a confirmation to me of the thorough aversion conceived by the marine of this country against navigating in the river St. Lawrence. The letters are from two gentlemen recommended to act as assistant quarter-

masters-general, and do, in some measure, point out the hardy, active disposition of the men.

I will add, from my own knowledge, that the second naval officer ⁽¹⁾ in command there, is vastly unequal to the weight of business; and it is of the first importance to the country, that it doth not fall into such hands. Mr. Caldwell, in autumn, proposed to attempt bringing off the pilots from the Isle aux Coudres, after the French fleet came down, or was supposed to be come down the river. The seeming danger of the enterprise and other causes put a stop to so great an undertaking.

What Caldwell observes, in regard to the fleets anchoring at the Isle Bic, is certainly very proper. A squadron of eight or ten sail stationed there, in the earliest opening of the river, would effectually prevent all relief; and it would be a very easy thing for the remainder of that squadron to push a frigate or two, and as many sloops, up the river, even as high as the Isle of Orleans, with proper people on board to acquire a certain knowledge of the navigation, in readiness to pilot such men of war and transports as the commanders should think fit to send up, after the junction of the whole fleet at the Isle Bic. Nor does there appear any great risk in detaching the North American squadron to that station; as it is hardly probable that a force equal to that squadron could be sent from Europe to force their way up to Quebec, because it is a

(1) Admiral Durell.

hundred to one if such a fleet keeps together in that early season ; and if they were together, it is next to a certainty that they would be in a very poor condition for action : besides, it would effectually answer our purpose to engage a French squadron in that river, even with the superiority of a ship or two on their side ; seeing that they must be shattered in the engagement, and in the end destroyed.

What Caldwell says of Jallen and Normand ⁽¹⁾ may be right for his project, but in the spring such an attempt will be extremely hazardous, from circumstances that I am well acquainted with, and therefore doubtless it will be thought best to keep what we have got ; the more especially as no steps are taken there to increase the number of pilots, nor care to preserve such as we were possessed of. This same Caldwell offered likewise to establish himself early at Mont Louis, with forty or fifty men and four or five whale boats, where he would lay in wait for every thing that went up or down the river, and catch fishermen and Indians for pilots, and know what ships came from Europe, before our squadron gets within the river.

If the enemy cannot pass the squadron stationed in the river and push up to Quebec, a few ships of war and frigates would do to convey the transports from the Isle Bic to Quebec, and to assist in the operation of the campaign, and, in this case, the gross of the fleet remaining at the Isle

(¹) Two pilots.

Be is at hand to prevent any attempt upon Louisburgh or Halifax ; whereas, if the whole went up to Quebec, intelligence would be long in getting to them, and their return in proportion.

You must excuse the freedom I have taken, both in writing and sending the enclosed papers. If you see one useful hint in either, my intent is fully answered ; if not, I beg you to burn them, without any further notice. I have the honour to be, with great esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient and

most humble servant,

JAM. WOLFE.

[Enclosure, No. I.]

LIEUTENANT CALDWELL TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL
WOLFE.

Louisbourg, October 27, 1758.

DEAR SIR,

I TAKE this first opportunity of returning my most unfeigned thanks for the many favours conferred on me, and for the honour I received in the notice you took of me at this place ; and as a grateful sense of them is the only return in my power to make, I beg you may be assured, Sir, that nothing would give me greater pleasure than an opportunity of showing it.

We have had no news here from General

Abercrombie's army, since he was joined by Mr. Amherst ; but we have an account of an advanced party of Brigadier Forbes's army of eight hundred men, commanded by Major Grant, being attacked about three hundred yards from Fort Du Quesne, by a number of Canadians and Indians, that sallied out of the fort. Major Grant, with a number of officers and three hundred privates, were either killed or taken prisoners. The Highlanders there likewise suffered very much. The accounts we have had of Major Grant's disposition and the manner of his being attacked, seem a little odd. However, certain it is he has been well drubbed ; though the account we have had of the circumstances I should imagine cannot be correct.

Nothing extraordinary has happened here since your leaving us, only the people of St. John's are not so easily to be got off as was expected. Immediately after you left this, I applied for leave to go to the continent, as I might have joined Mr. Abercrombie before the end of the campaign ; but was refused leave, lest the Canadians and Indians should attempt to surprise the Princess Amelia in Halifax harbour. The reason, indeed, that Mr. Durell gave for refusing me was, lest Halifax should be attacked in the winter, and the garrison should want assistance from the ships.

I begin to fear that nothing will be attempted to the Isle aux Coudres in the spring. Some of the most useful men were let go off in the cartel ship, though I had given the admiral a list of those

men, some time before the ship sailed. However, that will not signify, if Maître Jallen and Le Normand, both gone home with Sir Charles Hardy, are sent back in time. Those two men are now absolutely necessary. I have told Mr. Durell so; and he, after my pressing a good deal, has promised to mention them to Mr. Boscawen. I wish he, or some other person of consequence, would mention the affair again to Mr. Durell, and recommend him to have no more seamen employed than may be necessary to navigate the sloops, without a sea officer to thwart the enterprise. Mr. Durell talks of being out the beginning of April; but I don't hear he talks any thing of the river St. Lawrence. I wish he was ordered up to anchor at L'Isle Bic; no ship could then escape him, and he would save a great many men's lives; as nothing is more fatal to a ship's company than long cruises. Nothing could give me greater pleasure than such an order.

We shall sail, I believe, for Halifax in a few days, in the Bedford and Prince Frederick, and stay there during the winter. If any thing extraordinary happens, I shall do myself the honour of writing. I remain, Dear Sir,

Your obedient

and obliged servant,

HENRY CALDWELL.

[Enclosure, No. II.]

LIEUTENANT LESLIE TO BRIGADIER GENERAL
WOLFE.

Louisbourg, October 30, 1758.

SIR,

OUR affairs here creep on in a petty pace; and I am pleased we have nothing to do that requires vigour and despatch, lest we should become conspicuous.

An account from my Lord Rolle, on the 14th instant, says the inhabitants of St. John's island were embarking very slowly, and he was afraid many on the remote part of the island would not come in this year; and that several sloops and schooners, two of which were armed, were on the north side of the island, taking off the inhabitants and their effects. Captain Bond was in Port le Joy when this account came to General Whitmore. I was told that it was a dangerous experiment to send top-sail vessels to put a stop to these proceedings; on which I offered my service to the governor, to go with any small vessel that could be procured for me and the rangers, with which I would endeavour to put a stop to their success. I have caught the infection, and had a fur prize in view. The governor applied to the admiral for a small vessel; but jealous lest I should aspire to a flag by my

achievements by water, the Kennington was ordered on that service, to reap the laurels I had hoped for. However, for want of provision, she did not sail till the 20th, and will come too late to do any thing. Last night another account came from Lord Rolle: fifteen hundred inhabitants were embarked; but there was a whole parish whose inhabitants could not get off this season, being far removed from the port where the transports were. The fort was finished, and Lord Rolle was to embark for this place last Saturday. No mention was made of a stop being put to the vessels taking off the northern inhabitants to Canada; so I imagine it goes on successfully, as there is nothing to stop them. I believe there is a great bustle and little work done at that island.

I have received no orders for my removal as yet; but, if I can persuade General Whitmore to let me, I propose taking the first opportunity to go to the continent, and join whatever part of the army is in action.

Your most obliged

and very obedient humble servant,

MATTHEW LESLIE.

THE KING OF PRUSSIA TO MR. PITT.

A^u Breslau, ce 5 de Janvier, 1759.

Je ne saurais m'empêcher de vous marquer,
Monsieur, ma reconnoissance de la façon dont vous

venez encore, en dernier lieu, de vous expliquer au parlement sur mon sujet. ⁽¹⁾ J'apprends de tant d'endroits les soins que vous vous donnez pour mes intérêts, que je n'ai pu me refuser la satisfaction de vous en remercier moi-même.

L'Angleterre et La Prusse se trouvent accablés par un nombre d'ennemis, qui ont conspirés contre elles. Dans un tems où l'on voit les liens forcés des Français et des Autrichiens, et l'alliance plus bizarre des Russes avec les Suédois, il falloit, pour mettre un contrepoids à tant d'entreprises, que les nœuds qui nous unissent fussent rendus indissolubles; et il n'y avoit de moyen de nous soutenir, que par une intelligence inaltérable.

Je sais, Monsieur, combien vous y avez contribué. La nature, qui m'a refusé d'autres talens, m'a donné un cœur reconnoissant, et une âme sensible, et de laquelle les services ne s'effacent jamais. Continuez, Monsieur, à soutenir comme vous le faites avec éclat les entreprises de vos compatriotes, et à montrer au monde que les intérêts de la politique sont réconciliables avec la probité et la bonne foi. Vous devez compter sur mes suffrages, et sur la résolution dans laquelle je suis de vous donner, dans toutes les occasions, des marques de mon amitié, et de mon estime.

FREDERIC.

(1) "November 23. The parliament was opened by commission. Universal approbation of all that has been, and of all that will be done. The King of Prussia's victories worth all we have given; and those he will gain worth all we shall give. Thus this country seems to think at présent."—*Dodington's Diary*, p. 367.

COLONEL CLIVE TO MR. PITT.

Calcutta, January 7, 1759.

SIR,

SUFFER an admirer of yours at this distance to congratulate himself on the glory and advantage which are likely to accrue to the nation by your being at its head, and at the same time to return his most grateful thanks for the distinguished manner you have been pleased to speak of his successes in these parts, far indeed beyond his deservings. ⁽¹⁾

The close attention you bestow on the affairs of the British nation in general has induced me to trouble you with a few particulars relative to India, and to lay before you an exact account of the revenues of this country; the genuineness whereof you may depend upon, as it has been faithfully copied from the minister's books.

⁽¹⁾ Mr. Pitt, in his speech on the mutiny bill, in December, 1757, after adverting to the recent disgraces which had attended the British arms, said, "We had lost our glory, honour, and reputation every where but in India: there the country had a heaven-born general, who had never learned the art of war, nor was his name enrolled among the great officers who had for many years received their country's pay; yet was he not afraid to attack a numerous army with a handful of men." This extract of Mr. Pitt's panegyric was conveyed to Colonel Clive by his father, who concludes his letter in these words: "thus you are, with truth, honourably spoken of throughout this nation: may you continue to be so, till you return to your native country, and to the embraces of an aged father." — See *Malcolm's Life of Lord Clive*, vol. ii. p. 157.

The great revolution that has been effected here by the success of the English arms, and the vast advantages gained to the Company by a treaty concluded in consequence thereof, have, I observe, in some measure engaged the public attention; but much more may yet in time be done, if the Company will exert themselves in the manner the importance of their present possessions and future prospects deserves. I have represented to them in the strongest terms the expediency of sending out and keeping up constantly such a force as will enable them to embrace the first opportunity of further aggrandizing themselves; and I dare pronounce, from a thorough knowledge of this country government⁽¹⁾, and of the genius of the people, acquired by two years' application and experience, that such an opportunity will soon offer. The reigning Subah, whom the victory at Plassey invested with the sovereignty of these provinces, still, it is true, retains his attachment to us, and probably, while he has no other support, will continue to do so; but Mussulmans are so little influenced by gratitude, that should he ever think it his interest to break with us, the obligations he owes us would prove no restraint: and this is very evident from his having very lately removed his prime minister, and cut off two or three of his principal officers, all attached to our interest, and who had a share

(1) The application is here limited to the government of Bengal.

in his elevation. Moreover, he is advanced in years ; and his son is so cruel and worthless a young fellow, and so apparently an enemy to the English, that it will be almost useless trusting him with the succession. So small a body as two thousand Europeans will secure us against any apprehensions from either the one or the other, and in case of their daring to be troublesome, enable the Company to take the sovereignty upon themselves.

There will be the less difficulty in bringing about such an event, as the natives themselves have no attachment whatever to particular princes ; and as, under the present government, they have no security for their lives or properties, they would rejoice in so happy an exchange as that of a mild for a despotic government ; and there is little room to doubt our easily obtaining the mogul's sannud (or grant) in confirmation thereof, provided we agree to pay him the stipulated allotment out of the revenues. That this would be agreeable to him can hardly be questioned, as it would be so much to his interest to have these countries under the dominion of a nation famed for their good faith, rather than in the hands of people who, a long experience has convinced him, never will pay him his proportion of the revenues, unless awed into it by the fear of the imperial army marching to force them thereto.

But so large a sovereignty may possibly be an object too extensive for a mercantile company ; and it is to be feared they are not of themselves

able, without the nation's assistance, to maintain so wide a dominion. I have therefore presumed, Sir, to represent this matter to you, and submit it to your consideration, whether the execution of a design, that may hereafter be still carried to greater lengths, be worthy of the government's taking it into hand.

I flatter myself I have made it pretty clear to you, that there will be little or no difficulty in obtaining the absolute possession of these rich kingdoms; and that with the mogul's own consent, on condition of paying him less than a fifth of the revenues thereof. Now I leave you to judge, whether an income yearly of upwards of two millions sterling, with the possession of three provinces abounding in the most valuable productions of nature and of art, be an object deserving the public attention; and whether it be worth the nation's while to take the proper measures to secure such an acquisition, — an acquisition which, under the management of so able and disinterested a minister, would prove a source of immense wealth to the kingdom, and might in time be appropriated in part as a fund towards diminishing the heavy load of debt under which we at present labour.

Add to these advantages the influence we shall thereby acquire over the several European nations engaged in the commerce here, which these could no longer carry on but through our indulgence, and under such limitations as we should think fit to prescribe. It is well worthy consideration, that

this project may be brought about without draining the mother country, as has been too much the case with our possessions in America. A small force from home will be sufficient, as we always make sure of any number we please of black troops, who, being both much better paid and treated by us than by the country powers, will very readily enter into our service.

Mr. Walsh, who will have the honour of delivering you this, having been my secretary during the late fortunate expedition, is a thorough master of the subject, and will be able to explain to you the whole design, and the facility with which it may be executed, much more to your satisfaction, and with greater perspicuity, than can possibly be done in a letter. I shall therefore only further remark, that I have communicated it to no other person but yourself; nor should I have troubled you, Sir, but from a conviction that you will give a favourable reception to any proposal intended for the public good.

The greatest part of the troops belonging to this establishment are now employed in an expedition against the French in the Deccan; and, by the accounts lately received from thence, I have great hopes we shall succeed in extirpating them from the province of Golconda, where they have reigned lords paramount so long, and from whence they have drawn their principal resources during the troubles upon the coast.

Notwithstanding the extraordinary efforts made

by the French in sending out M. Lally with a considerable force the last year, I am confident, before the end of this, they will be near their last gasp in the Carnatic, unless some very unforeseen event interpose in their favour.⁽¹⁾ The superiority of our squadron, and the plenty of money and supplies of all kinds which our friends on the coast will be furnished with from this province, while the enemy are in total want of every thing, without any visible means of redress, are such advantages as, if properly attended to, cannot fail of wholly effecting their ruin in that as well as in every part of India.

May your zeal, and the vigorous measures projected for the service of the nation, which have so eminently distinguished your ministry, be crowned with all the success they deserve, is the most fervent wish of him who is, with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most devoted humble servant,

ROB. CLIVE. ⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ These predictions were verified to the very letter.

⁽²⁾ Mr. Walsh, by whom the letter was sent, gave to Colonel Clive, on the 26th of November, an account of his interview with Mr. Pitt, of which the following is the substance: — “Mr. Pitt received me with the utmost politeness, and we had a *tête-à-tête* for an hour and a quarter. He began on the subject of your letter. I said I was apprehensive that he looked upon the affair as chimerical: he assured me, not at all, but very practicable; but that it was of a very nice nature. He mentioned the Company’s charter not expiring these twenty years; that upon some late transactions it had been inquired into, whether the Company’s conquests and acquisitions belonged to them or the Crown, and the judges seemed to think to the Company. He said the Company were not proper to have it, nor the Crown, for such

ANDREW MITCHELL, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

(*Private.*)

Breslaw, January 8, 1759.

SIR,

IT is to me matter of the greatest satisfaction to be able to assure you, that his Prussian Majesty is highly pleased with the measures pursued by the King's ministers, and with the fair, candid, and honest manner in which they have behaved to him. If any thing could add to the joy I felt on this occasion, it was to hear the King of Prussia make the parallel between his former ally and the present, and a comparison between the behaviour of the French and of the English ministers.

But, Sir, amidst general applause it would be unjust to conceal from you the very particular and distinguished approbation with which that monarch has been pleased to honour your conduct; the Prussian ministers at London having transmitted to their master an account of what you said in the House of Commons, when it was proposed to address the King not to deliver up Louisburg to

a revenue would endanger our liberties; and that you had shown your good sense by the application of it to the public. He said the difficulty of effecting the affair was not great, under such a genius as Colonel Clive; but the sustaining it was the point; it was not probable he would be succeeded by persons equal to the task." — See *Malcolm's Life of Lord Clive*, vol. ii. p. 127.

the French by any subsequent treaty of peace ⁽¹⁾. The King of Prussia admired the firmness of your behaviour in replying instantly, and in the manner you did, and he said to me, that the declaration you made on that occasion was like a great statesman and an honest man. He concluded with these words, *enfin, c'étoit un coup de maître*.

I beg the favour of your acceptance of a Berlin almanack, and of my most hearty and sincere wishes for your health and prosperity. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient

and most humble servant,

ANDREW MITCHELL.

ANDREW MITCHELL, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Breslau, January 8, 1759.

SIR,

LAST Thursday the King of Prussia told me he had received letters from Lord Marshal⁽²⁾, his governor of Neufchatel, desiring that his Prussian

(1) "Thanks were voted to Boscawen and Amherst for the conquest of Louisburg, of which Sir John Philipps said, he hoped no ministry would ever rob us. Beekford re-echoed this. Pitt replied, it was too early to decide on what we would or would not restore: the Duke of Marlborough had acquired superiority; the peace of Utrecht gave it away: and then he protested, that at the peace he would not give up an iota of our allies, for any British consideration," &c.—*Walpole's Geo. II.*, vol. ii. p. 326.

(2) Earl Marichal Keith, attainted for his share in the rebellion in 1715. He was brother of the Honourable James Keith, many years field-marshal in the service of the King of Prussia, and killed

Majesty would be pleased to recommend him to his Majesty's grace and pardon. The King of Prussia added, that he believed a relation of Lord Marshal's was lately dead, to whom he should have succeeded ; which had occasioned the present application. I answered, that I apprehended, as Mr. Keith had been attainted by act of parliament, no part of the attainder could be reversed but by parliament.

The King of Prussia replied, " I know nothing of your forms ; but I shall be obliged to you, if you will write to the King's ministers in my name, to desire them to intercede with the King for Lord Marshal's pardon, which," said he, " I will consider as a personal favour done to myself."

I assured his Prussian Majesty, that I was ready to obey his commands forthwith, and I believed every minister in the King's service would not only give the utmost attention to what he was pleased to suggest, but be willing to go all lengths to oblige him, as far as the laws and constitution of the country permitted. The King of Prussia then said, " What Lord Marshal asks does not appear unreasonable ; he does not desire restitution of dignity and estate — only to be rehabilitated : I therefore hope his request may easily be granted. I will myself write to the King about it, and I

at the battle of Hoehkirchen in October, 1758, and eldest son of William, ninth earl marischal of Scotland, by Lady Mary Drummond, daughter of the Earl of Perth. He was, at this time Frederick's ambassador at the court of Spain.

trust to you to recommend this to the King's ministers."

In a subsequent conversation I had with the King of Prussia, after talking over the same things, he added, "I know Lord Marshal to be so thorough an honest man, that I am willing to be surety for his future conduct." I have mentioned minutely every thing that has passed concerning this affair, to show you how much this generous monarch has the interest of his old servant at heart, even in the midst of the greatest and most important occupations; and I despatch this messenger on purpose, having no news of any sort to transmit.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient

and most humble servant,

ANDREW MITCHELL.

THE HON. SIR JOSEPH YORKE TO MR. PITT.

(*Private.*)

Hague, January 9, 1759.

SIR,

THE new year's gift, contained in the private letter you were pleased to honour me with in your own hand, was so agreeable and useful to me, that I lost no time in communicating to the Princess

Royal and the Dutch ministers the account of the release of the Surinam ships ; and, notwithstanding the uncertain state of her Royal Highness's health, she ordered me to make her sincerest acknowledgments to you, for the real mark of regard and friendship which you have given her, and the convincing proof to this country of your desire to go as far as is reasonable or practicable in adjusting these unhappy differences. Her Royal Highness, with her sincerest thanks, depends upon the continuance of your kind assistance to prevent any misfortune happening ; and no assistance she can give to second the favourable intentions of England shall be wanting.

It is undoubtedly a great misfortune for the forwarding of this important business, that her Royal Highness should be unable to act in person ; for the several parties and jarring interests which divide this country render any negotiation with them almost impracticable. I am sure the nation in general wish to compound reasonably ; but what you so properly say of the passion, knavery, and French operation, which magnify and multiply real grievances, is certainly true. This has made me wish so much to be furnished authentically with some of the strong proofs you are possessed of in England against the Dutch merchants, as I could make a good use of them ; and such as I have been able to pick up here have had a very good effect in opening people's eyes, which are almost universally blinded with the clamours of losing merchants, who

unless convicted will never own their frauds and abuses.

It is natural to suppose, that amongst the number of ships brought up, some may have been detained upon frivolous pretences. Those I treat with here don't pretend to contend for false or double papers, or those who are proved to have sinned against what they call the law; and I am convinced that if those two classes were separated from the others, a much less number than is imagined would remain to be contended for; and surely the owners and the privateers had better compound the matter, without a lawsuit, than spend the profits in long pleadings. But this I only mention as my own idea, which, though proceeding from a good intention, may be impracticable or improper.

The French do wisely to foment this quarrel; for it cannot but be advantageous to them to divide the ancient alliance between England and Holland. It is needless for me to expatiate upon the benefit that must accrue to them; though I am persuaded that those who foment it here would be the first victims of such a misfortune.

In the course of this week and the next, I shall be better able to judge than I can yet, whether those with whom I am forced to treat (who are not all equally just and reasonable) are serious, and well disposed to second the friendly and favourable dispositions on your side. If they are, the affair may be soon adjusted; if they are not, I see no other way of negotiating for the future, but by public

memorials, and in a manner appealing to the people, that they may see into what an abyss a faction would lead them, contrary to their engagements, their honour, and their interest.

From the experience I have had of your candour and indulgence towards me, and of the obliging and friendly manner in which you are pleased to write to me, I am encouraged to hope that my conduct in this difficult and delicate affair has not been disapproved of by you. I am sensible that I stand upon ticklish ground ; but, encouraged by your goodness, and enlightened by your assistance, I will do my best to get forward. Give me leave to hope that that will be continued to me, and that I may have frequent opportunities of assuring you of the unfeigned respect and attachment with which I have the honour to be, Sir,

your most obliged and

most devoted humble servant,

JOSEPH YORKE.

P. S. There is no saying what will be the issue of the Princess Royal's complaint, which the physicians now pronounce a dropsy. ⁽¹⁾

(1) The Princess of Orange died three days after the date of this letter, leaving two children — the Prince William, hereditary stadtholder, father of the present King of the Netherlands, and the Princess Caroline, married in March, 1760, to Charles Christian, prince of Nassau Weilbourg.

MR. PITT TO ANDREW MITCHELL, ESQ.

(*Private.*)

Whitehall, January 26, 1759.

SIR,

YOU will be informed by the Earl of Holderness, now returned from Bath, of the pleasure his Majesty took in complying with the wishes of the King of Prussia in favour of Lord Marshal; and I have only to add on the subject, that nothing was left for the King's servants to do on the occasion, but to admire the generosity and clemency of two great monarchs displaying themselves so amiably, and to be happy in the growing harmony and confidential friendship which daily manifest themselves between their Majesties.

The approbation the King of Prussia is pleased to express to you of the measures pursued, and of the fair and honest proceeding of the King's servants, fills me with the deepest satisfaction and sincerest joy for the public; at the same time, that the distinguished protection and infinite condescension of that heroic monarch towards the least amongst them, have indeed left me under impressions beyond the power of words; and in addition to all the warmest sentiments which my heart has long devoted to the greatest of kings and pride of human nature, gratitude, that can only cease with

my life, has completed the ties of inviolable attachment.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that this day the pecuniary succour to Prussia and the subsidy to the Landgrave, together with nineteen thousand Hessians for this year, passed the committee, with one voice only against it. ⁽¹⁾ I return you many thanks for your obliging present, and desire you will be persuaded that I shall be happy in the occasions of testifying the great truth and consideration with which I remain, dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

[From a draught in the hand-writing of Mr. Pitt.]

A Whitehall, ce — de Janvier, 1759.

SIRE,

LA lettre qui me comble de gloire, et que votre Majesté a daigné me faire de la même main qui fait le salut de l'Europe, m'ayant pénétré de sen-

(1) "The estimates for the year are made up; and what do you think they amount to? No less than twelve millions; a most incredible sum, and yet already all subscribed, and even more offered! The unanimity in the House of Commons, in voting such a sum, and such forces, both by sea and land, is not less astonishing. This is Mr. Pitt's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. He declares only what he would have them do, and they do it, *nemine contradicente*; Mr. Viner only excepted." — *Lord Chesterfield*.

timens au-dessus de toute expression, il ne me reste qu'à supplier votre Majesté, qu'elle veuille bien permettre, qu'au défaut de paroles, j'aye recours aux foibles efforts d'un zèle inalterable pour ses intérêts, et que j'aspire à rendre ma vie entière l'interprête d'un cœur rempli d'admiration, et profondément touché de la plus vive et de la plus respectueuse reconnoissance.

En vous dédiant, Sire, un dévouement de la sorte, je ne fais qu'obéir aux volontés du Roi, qui n'exige rien tant de ceux qui ont l'honneur de servir sa Majesté dans ses affaires, que de travailler avec passion à rendre indissolubles les liens d'une union si heureuse entre les deux cours.

Agréez, Sire, qu'animé de ces vues, je fasse des vœux pour les jours de votre Majesté, et qu'en tremblant je la suive en idée, dans la carrière d'actions merveilleuses qui se succèdent continuellement, sans cesser, toutefois, d'être prodiges ; et que j'ose supplier très-humblement votre Majesté, qu'au milieu de tous ses travaux, elle veuille bien songer un moment, à me continuer la gloire et le bien inestimable de cette protection, qu'elle m'a fait la grace de m'accorder.

Je suis, avec le plus profond respect, Sire,

De votre Majesté

Le très-humble et très

obéissant serviteur,

W. PITT.

MAJOR-GENERAL WOLFE ⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Neptune, Halifax Harbour, May 1, 1759.

SIR,

AN officer of artillery who is recalled to his corps gives me an opportunity of doing myself the honour to inform you of what I have learnt or seen since yesterday, that the squadron came to an anchor.

Mr. Amherst has used the utmost diligence in forwarding all things that depended upon him; and I hope that the two battalions from the Bay of Fundy will get round in good time. Schooners, sloops, whale boats, molasses and rum are pro-

(¹) An expedition against the capital of the French empire in North America having been determined upon by the Government, Wolfe, who had eminently distinguished himself at the siege of Louisbourg, was placed at the head of it, with the rank of major-general. Early in February he embarked with about eight thousand men on board the fleet commanded by Admiral Saunders, and arrived, in the latter end of June, in the river St. Lawrence. "Considering," says Walpole, "that our ancient officers had grown old on a very small portion of experience, which by no means compensated for the decay of fire and vigour, it was Mr. Pitt's practice to trust his plans to the alertness and hopes of younger men. This appeared particularly in the nomination of Wolfe for the enterprise on Quebec. Ambition, industry, passion for the service, were conspicuous in him. He seemed to breathe for nothing but fame, and lost no moments in qualifying himself to compass his object. He had studied for his purpose, and wrote well. Presumption on himself was necessary to such a character, and he had it. He was formed to execute the designs of such a master as Pitt." — *Memoirs of George II.*, vol. ii. p. 345.

vided, and hourly expected. Governor Lawrence and the brigadier generals here have omitted nothing that could possibly forward the service, and our engineers have been employed in some useful preparations. By the Ruby ordnance ship (the only one of Mr. Holmes's⁽¹⁾) convoy yet arrived in this port) we have learnt, that the transports were scattered in a hard gale of wind; but as the Ruby observed only one ship without masts, we conclude that the far greater part are safe at New York.

Mr. Durell applied for troops to strengthen his squadron, which were readily granted by the commanding officer here, that there might be no impediment to his sailing. I have added two hundred and fifty men to the first detachment, and have put the whole under the command of the quarter-master-general, Colonel Carleton, to assist Mr. Durell's operations in the river St. Lawrence; where perhaps it may be necessary to land upon some of the islands, and to push a detachment of his fleet up the bason of Quebec, that the navigation may be entirely free from transports. By this early attempt it is more than probable, that the Canadians will not have time to prepare a defence at the Isle aux Coudres, and at the Traversè, the two most difficult and rapid parts of the

(1) Charles Holmes, at this time rear-admiral of the white. He was member for Newport in the Isle of Wight, and in 1760 was appointed commander-in-chief on the Jamaica station, where he died in 1761.

river, and where the pilots seem to think they might, and would (if not prevented in time), give us a good deal of trouble. If Mr. Durell had been at sea, as we imagined, I did intend to have sent Colonel Carleton with this additional force, some artillery and tools, with the first ship that Mr. Saunders⁽¹⁾ might have ordered to reinforce the rear-admiral's squadron.

The battalions in garrison here were (till very lately, that the measles has got amongst them,) in very great order, and in health, recover'd by the more than common care of the officers that command them. They have managed so as to exchange the salt provisions for fresh beef, and have had constant supplies of frozen meat and spruce beer all the winter. This excellent precaution, their great and generous expense in the regimental hospitals, and the order that has been observed amongst them, have preserved these battalions from utter ruin.

But I believe, Sir, you will be surprised to find, that when the five hundred men for the defence of Nova Scotia are deducted from the two American battalions, these four regiments have no more than two thousand men in condition to serve;

(1) At this time vice-admiral of the blue; in the following year made commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean; in 1762, vice-admiral of the white; in 1765, a lord of the Admiralty; in 1766, comptroller of the navy; and in 1770, admiral of the blue. He for many years represented the borough of Heydon in Parliament. He died in 1775, and was privately buried in Westminster Abbey, near the monument of his friend Wolfe.

including the detachment with Mr. Durell. The levies upon the continent have prevented their recruiting. Otway's and Bragg's, who cannot have fared so well as these, and have lost in proportion since the siege of Louisbourg, are by all accounts in a worse condition; so that if those from General Amherst should not be very complete, our number of regular forces can hardly exceed the half of my Lord Ligonier's calculation; and yet the Marshal must know, that every man in Canada is a soldier. Our troops indeed are good, and very well disposed: if valour can make amends for the want of numbers, we shall probably succeed. Any accidents on the river, or sickness among the men, might put us to some difficulties.

The six companies of rangers will be pretty near complete. They are in general recruits, without service or experience, and not to be depended upon; and the company of light infantry from the three battalions in garrison at Louisbourg has, I believe, been omitted in the directions sent to General Amherst. The Admiral writes concerning the affairs of the fleet; and therefore I forbear to speak of them. Mr. Saunders proposes to be soon at sea; and there shall be no delay on our part.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, Sir,

Your most obedient

and most humble servant,

JAM. WOLFE.

ANDREW MITCHELL, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

(*Private.*)

Landshutt, May 20, 1759.

SIR,

SINCE I had the honour of your most obliging private letter of the 26th of January last, nothing material has happened here, which has not been mentioned in my correspondence with the Earl of Holderness; but yesterday, in the conversation I had with the King of Prussia, some things dropped from him, which I think it my duty to acquaint you with in particular.

After that monarch had expressed his warmest wishes for peace, and expatiated on the dangerous situation in which he was, he asked me, "But can your ministers make a peace? are things yet in that situation?" I answered, I was sure they wished for peace. "And," says he, "I hope I shall not be forgot." My reply was prevented by the King's adding immediately: "No, I am in no danger; Mr. Pitt is an honest man and firm; my interests are safe in his hands." I took the liberty of saying that, from a very long acquaintance, I was firmly persuaded his Majesty in the end would find you really was, what he now thought you to be. The King then changed the conversation, and, talking of his own situation, said, "If you were to write all you see, and all you know of it, you would hardly be believed by your own ministers."

My letters to the Earl of Holderness will inform you of the rest of this memorable conversation ; but in my private letter to him and to the Duke of Newcastle, I have only mentioned the King's ardent desire of peace. I have the honour to be, with great and sincere respect, dear Sir,

Your most obedient

and most humble servant,

ANDREW MITCHELL.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Newcastle House, May 24, 1759.

DEAR SIR,

NOT having had the pleasure of seeing you at court, I take the first opportunity to acquaint you, that I this day got the King's consent, that Mr. Hampden⁽¹⁾ should be one of the joint post-masters. I had very often and very lately pressed it, but had not been able to get it over until this day.

(1) The Hon. Robert Hampden, several years envoy-extraordinary to the States-General. He continued to hold the office of joint post-master-general till 1765. By the death of his half-brother, he became, in 1764, fourth Lord Trevor. It is related, that in an audience, George the Third said to him, "My Lord, why do you suffer the great name of Hampden to drop?"—"Peers," replied Lord Trevor, "do not change their names, without the permission of their sovereign." He was created Viscount Hampden in 1776, and died in 1783.

The King did also agree, that the Earl of Besborough⁽¹⁾ should be the other post-master ; and I this day recommended my Lord North to succeed my Lord Besborough in the treasury. My Lord North is a near relation of mine ; but I hope his appearance in parliament will make the choice approved, and that he will be in time a very able and useful servant to the Crown.⁽²⁾ I am with great respect, dear Sir, .

Your most obedient humble servant,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.⁽³⁾

(1) William Ponsonby, second Earl of Besborough, and father of the present Earl. He married, in 1739, Lady Caroline Cavendish, daughter of William, third Duke of Devonshire, and died in 1793.

(2) The Hon. Frederick North, eldest son of the first Earl of Guilford, at this time member for Banbury. He held this situation in the treasury till 1766, when he was made joint paymaster of the forces. In 1767, he was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, and in 1770 became prime minister ; which high situation he held till 1783, when he retired from public life. " He was," says his great opponent Mr. Burke, " a man of admirable parts, of general knowledge, of a versatile understanding, fitted for all sorts of business ; of infinite wit and pleasantry, of a delightful temper, and with a mind most disinterested." He died in 1792, in his sixty-first year.

(3) " May 16, Lord Halifax called on me, and told me, that the Duke of Newcastle was extremely glad of having a vacancy in the treasury, by making Lord Besborough postmaster, and now he might take Mr. Oswald, and all would be settled ; but that Lord Bute came to him, in the name of all of them on that side of the administration, and told his Grace positively, that they would not consent to Oswald's being in the treasury ; and the rather, as they knew he was not his Grace's man, but was

MR. PITT TO ANDREW MITCHELL, ESQ.

Whitehall, June 12, 1759.

DEAR SIR,

I WILL not trouble you here with regard to my dispatch to Mr. Porter, a copy whereof, in your cipher, is transmitted to you by the Earl of Holderness, in order to be communicated to the King of Prussia, and relative whereto Baron Knyphausen has written so fully and so fairly to his court. I will only say on this subject, that we do more than I dared to hope;—indeed, all that we possibly can, and far beyond that to which any imaginable consideration but the just weight of his Prussian Majesty, could ever have carried us. What I sat down only to do, is to acknowledge the favour of your very obliging private letter of the 20th past, and to give some expression, in a short word, to the deep and lively sentiments of most respectful gratitude and veneration, which such a testimony from such a monarch must engrave for ever in a heart already filled with admiration and devotion.

suggested to him by Mr. Legge: and this the Duke, very much frightened, was pleased to own. He added, that they thought they had as good a right to recommend as any one, and they expected that Mr. Elliot of the admiralty should succeed. The Duke did not absolutely acquiesce in the nomination, but he did in the exclusion."—*Dodington's Diary*, p. 368.

Truly dear as his Prussian Majesty's interests are to me, it is my happiness to be able to say, that if any servant of the King could forget (a thing, I trust, impossible) what is due, by every tie, to such an ally, I am persuaded his Majesty would soon bring any of us to our memory again. In this confidence I rest secure, that whenever peace shall be judged proper to come under consideration, *no peace of Utrecht* will again stain the annals of England.

Accept yourself my best thanks for the obliging language you were so good as to hold of an old acquaintance, and believe me, with great truth and consideration, dear sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

W. PITT.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Newcastle House, June 23, 1759.

DEAR SIR,

I TAKE the liberty to send you some papers, which were formerly under consideration, relating to the powers of the master-general of the ordnance, with a letter which I have received from my Lord Ligonier upon them. To be sure, those powers were too extensive: whether what is now proposed by my Lord Ligonier is sufficient should be considered; but whatever regulations are proper to be made will be more easily effected now in

the case of my Lord Ligonier, as his lordship, I believe, was the person who formerly proposed those alterations.

It is very evident that my Lord Ligonier grows so very impatient, that if this is not immediately done, we shall not have things carried on in that material office with that expedition, which the present critical situation of affairs requires. I therefore beg you would be so good as to consider what alterations should be made in the present instructions, that the appointment may be forthwith made.⁽¹⁾ I am with great respect, dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

BARON DE KNYPHAUSEN TO MR. PITT.

A Londres, per Juillet, 1759.

MONSIEUR,

AYANT reçu cette nuit un courier du Roy mon maître, qui m'a porté une lettre pour sa Majesté Brittanique, que je me propose de remettre ce matin, et dont le contenu est très important, je crois ne pas devoir différer d'un instant d'en en-

⁽¹⁾ On the 3rd of July, Lord Ligonier was appointed master-general of the ordnance, in the room of the late Duke of Marlborough.

voyer ci-joint copie à votre Excellence, me réservant au reste d'en conférer plus amplement avec elle demain matin, soit à Londres, soit à Kensington, où je me rendrai vers les une heures.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec les sentimens d'admiration et de respect, que je vous ai consacrés pour la vie, Monsieur, de votre Excellence

le très humble et très

obéissant serviteur,

LE B. DE KNYPHAUSEN.

THE KING OF PRUSSIA TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.

'A Reich Kennersdorff, ce 20 Juin, 1759.

MONSIEUR MON FRÈRE,

QUELQUES efforts que nous ayons fait jusqu'ici pour rompre la ligue de nos ennemis, il paroît que leur animosité et leur erreur n'ont fait qu'augmenter. Nous avons agi avec toute la vigueur possible. Nos succès, loin de leur donner des sentimens pacifiques, n'ont fait que resserrer les liens qui les unissent, et les pousser à faire de plus grands efforts.

Si votre Majesté veut bien que je lui parle avec confiance et à cœur ouvert, je pense que l'attachement que nous devons à nos peuples, l'humanité, et le bien du genre humain, demandent que nous n'ayons pas trop d'acharnement pour continuer une guerre onéreuse et sanglante, et qu'il ne seroit

point contre notre dignité ni contre notre honneur, de nous prévaloir des premiers événemens favorables de cette campagne, pour déclarer conjointement aux puissances ennemis, qu'on étoit disposé à Londres et à Berlin à l'ouverture d'un congrès, dans lequel on pourroit se concerter sur les moyens les plus propres à établir une paix honorable et utile à toutes les parties belligérantes, autant qu'elles voudroient se prêter à concourir à ce but salutaire.

Ce sont des idées que je soumets aux vues supérieurs de votre Majesté, l'assurant, quoiqu'il arrive, que rien ne me séparera de ses intérêts.

Je suis, avec la plus haute estime,

Monsieur, mon Frère,

de votre Majesté le bon Frère,

FREDERIC. ⁽¹⁾

(¹) The condition of the King of Prussia's affairs at this moment were considered desperate.

"We have a most gloomy prospect of affairs in Germany," wrote Lord Chesterfield on the 25th of June: "the French are already in possession of Cassel and of the learned part of Hanover, that is, Gottingen; where I presume they will not stop, *pour l'amour des belles lettres*, but rather go on to the capital. If Prince Ferdinand ventures a battle to prevent it, I dread the consequences, and study them upon the coin; the odds are too great against him. The King of Prussia is still in a worse situation; for he has the hydra to encounter; and though he may cut off a head or two, there will still be enough left to devour him at last."

EARL MARICHAL KEITH TO MR. PITT.

St. Ildefonso, July 30, 1759.

SIR,

It is only by this post that I know the pardon which his Majesty of his goodness was pleased to grant me, has passed the seals. I durst not until now presume to write to you, and thank you for your favour towards me ; of which I cannot doubt, since I know, from the King of Prussia, that when Baron Knyphausen went to deliver his letter, he found the King already in a good disposition to receive it.

I must beg leave to ask another favour—that you will assure the King of my grateful acknowledgement of his goodness, and that his Majesty may count on my faithful attachment to him and to his family. I wish you good health, for yourself and for the public, and success to your wishes (and allow me to add to mine), in your labour for the interest of the King and of the country, having the honour to be respectfully, Sir,

Your most humble and

most obedient servant,

KEITH. ⁽¹⁾

(1) Upon receiving his pardon, the Earl proceeded to London, and was introduced to George II., who received him very graciously. He remained in this country for several years, purchased back some of the family property, and intended finally to settle for the remainder of his life in Scotland ; but the King of Prussia pressed him so warmly to return to his dominions—

THE EARL OF BUTE TO MR. PITT.

Kew, August 7, 1759.

DEAR SIR,

I AM extremely concerned to observe by your letter, that all endeavours have proved hitherto unsuccessful, in regard to a business the Prince has so much at heart. I need not tell you that he complains bitterly of the extreme neglect he ever meets with in any matter (be it what it will) that immediately concerns himself. The most gentle, patient dispositions may be at last so soured, that all the prudential reasons and arguments in the world will not prevent very bad effects—very pernicious consequences. Nothing shall be wanting on my part to preserve peace and good-humour, but at the same time, I will not be answerable for the consequences of this treatment; though I am very certain, that whatever resolutions his Royal Highness shall take, whatever measures he shall think necessary for his own honour to pursue, at this crisis, he will do nothing unworthy of himself,

saying, in one of his letters, “If I had a fleet, I would come and carry you off by force,”—that he once more became an exile from his native land. He died at Potsdam, in 1778, in his eighty-sixth year. It was from this nobleman that Lord Chat-ham received intelligence of the hostile intentions of Spain with regard to the Falkland Islands, which prompted him, in 1770, to make the celebrated declaration in the House of Lords, “that a blow of hostility had been struck against Great Britain by her old inveterate enemies in some quarter of the globe.”

or that he shall think disrespectful to the King.
I ever am, dear sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

BUTE.⁽¹⁾

MR. PITT TO THE EARL OF BUTE.

August 15, 1759.

MY DEAR LORD,

I HAVE the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship, that the King has *given leave* to Lord George Sackville to return to England, his Lordship having, in a letter to Lord Holdernessee, requested to be recalled from his command. ⁽²⁾ This mode of re-

(1) "At this time," says Walpole, "Mr. Pitt was little inclined to favour the views of the Prince's court; their mutual haughtiness and reserve had impaired the connection between him and Lord Bute. The Prince's court had secrets of their own; nor was Pitt more communicative to the successor of his grandfather's measures: and the affair of Lord George Sackville, who was patronised by the Prince, widened the breach." — Vol. ii. p. 399.

(2) In the general orders issued by Prince Ferdinand, the day after the battle of Minden, his Royal Highness stated, that if the Marquis of Granby, Lord George Sackville's subordinate, had been at the head of the cavalry, he felt persuaded the success of the day would have been more complete and brilliant. "After the battle," says Walpole, "Lord George, whether unconscious of having failed in his duty, or whether, what is more probable, to carry on the semblance of having done it, did not scruple to mix with the general officers at the Prince's table. 'Voilà cet homme!' said the Prince to those nearest to him, 'autant à son aise comme s'il avait fait des merveilles!' No more

turning, your Lordship will perceive, is a very considerate softening of his misfortune. The torrent in all parts bears hard upon him. As I have already, so I shall continue to give him, as a most unhappy man, all the *offices of humanity*, which our *first, sacred* object, my dear Lord, the public good, will allow.

The King sends the garter and a handsome present to Prince Ferdinand.

I am ever, my dear Lord,

Yours, &c. &c.

W. PITT.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO MR. PITT.

Madrid, August 27, 1759.

SIR,

I have before, in my private letters, had the honour of acquainting you, that since I have been here, there has not been a single dispatch to you, or office letter to M. Wall, or any one letter of business, even to the many consuls in Spain, which I have not writ myself, and only consented to let the secretary of embassy copy, without making the least alteration. Colonel De Cosne ⁽¹⁾ has not, since

passed then. The next day's orders informed Lord George, that the Prince's silence was no indemnity. He felt the stroke. He saw Germany and the army were no longer a situation for him. He wrote for leave to resign his command, and to return. Both were granted." — *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 367.

(1) Secretary to the British embassy at the court of Madrid.

the month of June, put any thing into cipher for me, or transcribed a letter ; which I mention, only that you may be less uneasy, Sir, at his absence, when you are apprised how little he has done. I should be much concerned to hear of his Majesty's displeasure for my encouraging him to change the air ; but being confined to his room at Madrid, and often to his bed, without doing any business, is much the same with his going into another province of this kingdom. Whilst I am able, I can cheerfully go through the duty of my employment ; the discharge of my business is my principal pleasure. There are no avocations in this country, were I inclined to be diverted from the King's service; and depend upon it, Sir, that as soon as I feel myself unfit, I will not have it to reproach myself, that I am receiving pay from his Majesty without endeavouring to merit it; but I will ask to retire, and leave my commission to one more able to fulfil the importance of the trust, although none can ever exceed me in zeal.

I most unfeignedly wish you, Sir, a long continuance of health, and as ardently wish you to remain in that station you so worthily are placed in, so much to the benefit of your King, and so entirely to the satisfaction of your country ; but if I might add to those great considerations, I would presume to say, how much I hope never to have any other correspondent except yourself in that office.

It is unnecessary for me, Sir, to repeat my

solicitations for a consul-general of your recommendation ; indeed, one is much wanted. I have the honour to be, with the truest esteem and most perfect respect, Sir,

Your most obedient

and most humble servant,

BRISTOL.

ADMIRAL RODNEY ⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Deptford, off Havre, September 3. 1759.

SIR,

I WAS in hopes, long before this, to have congratulated you on the second bombardment of Havre. The same successful passage attended me ; the frigates were placed, and the signal made for the bombs to proceed to their station, when the wind springing up very fresh at north-west, attended with a great swell, obliged me to anchor and recall the frigates. The weather has since been so very bad as to prevent any operation whatever ; this

(1) In the early part of the year, this brave officer had been made rear admiral of the blue, and appointed to the command of the expedition destined for the bombardment of Havre de Grace and destruction of the preparations carrying on for invading the coasts of Great Britain ; an object which he most effectually accomplished. For a series of gallant services, he was created a baronet in 1764, and, having obtained a signal victory over the French fleet in the West Indies on the 12th of April 1782, was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Rodney. He died in 1792.

being the first fair day since being on the enemy's coast, and the spring tides being set in, nothing can be attempted till they are over.

I should, Sir, be wanting in that respect and gratitude I owe, for the many favours received at your hands, did I not make you truly acquainted with the present posture of the enemy, which is such that, I am firmly of opinion, all attempts towards another bombardment would be attended with unsurmountable difficulties; the enemy having placed two floating batteries, and two flat-bottom vessels, so advantageously as to rake the bombs when in their station. They have likewise four galleys, with each a large gun in their prow, who keep within the sand-bank, and will flank the bombs on the other side. They lay in such shoal water, that none of the ships I have with me can possibly attack them; and the bombs, to do any execution, must be placed within point blank of them. In short, Sir, the enemy have had so much time to prepare, which they have not neglected, that not only all the officers of the squadron, but those likewise of the train, are firmly of opinion, the bombs would be destroyed before they could be well placed.

I flatter myself you will do me the justice to think, that I shall ever exert myself to the utmost for his Majesty's service, and that my motive, in this representation to you, proceeds from a thorough conviction, that his Majesty's arms may be attended with disgrace in this attempt; but if

'tis thought proper to make it, when the neap tides come on, nothing shall be wanting on my part to make it successful.

The enemy go on very briskly in finishing their flat-bottom boats, there being now only thirty on the beach, and those almost finished. By intelligence I received this day, by a Dutch hoy that came down the river, they have one hundred and twenty at Rouen, and only two at Honfleur; they not choosing to keep them at that place. As I have frequent opportunities to see them under sail, I think them very unwieldy vessels, and calculated only for smooth water and a fair wind.

I beg, Sir, you will look upon this letter as proceeding from a person who has the highest veneration for you, and would be glad of any opportunity of contributing to the glory of the British arms, and your administration.

I have the honour to be, Sir, with the utmost respect,

Your most obedient

and most humble servant,

G. B. RODNEY. ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ During the summer Admiral Rodney made several visits to Havre. Walpole says, that "he threw so prodigious a number of bombs into the place, that he almost melted his own mortars; thereby totally frustrating the designs of the enemy, and completely ruining, not only the preparations going on, but the port itself as a naval arsenal."

MR. PITT TO LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.⁽¹⁾

[From a draught in Mr. Pitt's hand-writing.]

September 9, 1759.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour of a letter from your Lordship, with a copy of one from you to Lord Holdernes, requesting a public opportunity of justifying your conduct by a court martial; wherein I wish your lordship all success. You are pleased to make very undeserved acknowledgments for such offices only of common candour and humanity, as I judged it consistent with my duty to the King and zeal for the service to employ; but those offices went no further than using endeavours that your Lordship might return from your command by his Majesty's *permission*, not by *order*.

I hope you will think it is the same temper of mind which at present compels me to deal frankly on this very unhappy and delicate occasion, where delusion might prove dangerous. Give me leave, then, to say, that I find myself (from the turn of your Lordship's letter) under the painful necessity

(1) "From the first moment of Lord George Sackville's disgrace, Mr. Pitt warmly adopted the sentiments of Prince Ferdinand, whom he was determined heartily to support. Though he went to visit Lord George in form, he by no means meant to protect him. He would not, he said, condemn any man unheard; but he was sworn to the German cause, and to the heroes whose success reflected such lustre on his own administration, and concurred so much to give it stability."—*Walpole*, vol. ii. p. 381.

of declaring my infinite concern at not having been able to find, either from Captain Smith's conversation, or from your own state of facts, room, as I wished, for me to offer my support, with regard to a conduct which, perhaps, my incompetence to judge of military questions, leaves me at a loss to account for.

I cannot enough lament the subject of a correspondence so unlike every thing I had wished for a person to whose advantageous situation my poor endeavours had not been wanting.

I am, with respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient and
most humble servant,

W. PITT.⁽¹⁾

(¹) On the following day, Lord Barrington, the secretary at war, waited, by the King's command, on Lord George Sackville, with orders for him to deliver up all the places that he held under the Government. In a letter to Sir Horace Mann, Mr. Walpole says, "Lord George, the hero of all conversation, if one can be so for not being a hero, is arrived. He immediately applied for a court martial; but was told it was impossible now, as the officers necessary are in Germany. This was in writing from Lord Holderness; but Lord Ligonier in words was more squab—'If he wanted a court martial, he might go seek it in Germany.' With his parts and ambition it cannot end here. He calls himself ruined; but when the parliament meets, he will probably attempt some sort of revenge."

MAJOR-GENERAL WOLFE TO THE EARL OF
HOLDERNESSE.

On board the Sutherland, at anchor off Cape Rouge,
September 9, 1759. ⁽¹⁾

MY LORD,

If the Marquis de Montcalm had shut himself up in the town of Quebec, it would have been

⁽¹⁾ This painfully interesting letter was written on the 9th of September; only *four* days before the death of Wolfe. It reached England on the 14th of October; and three days after, in the midst of gloom and despair, an express arrived that Quebec was taken. The following is Horace Walpole's animated description of this memorable event:—"The incidents of dramatic fiction could not be conducted with more address to lead an audience from despondency to sudden exultation, than accident prepared to excite the passions of a whole people. They despaired—they triumphed—and they wept,—for Wolfe had fallen in the hour of victory! Joy, grief, curiosity, astonishment, were painted on every countenance: the more they inquired, the higher their admiration rose. Not an incident but was heroic and affecting! Wolfe, between persuasion of the impracticability, unwillingness to leave any attempt untried that could be proposed, and worn out with anxiety of mind and body, had determined to make one last effort above the town. He embarked his forces at one in the morning of the 13th, and passed the French sentinels in silence that were posted along the shore. The current carried them beyond the destined spot. They found themselves at the foot of a precipice, esteemed so impracticable, that only a slight guard of a hundred and fifty men defended it. Had there been a path, the night was too dark to discover it. The troops, whom nothing could discourage, pulled themselves and one another up by stumps and boughs of trees. The guard, hearing a rustling, fired down the precipice at random, as our men did up into the air; but, terrified by the strangeness of the attempt, the French picquet fled,—all but the

long since in our possession, because the defences are inconsiderable and our artillery very formidable; but he has a numerous body of armed men (I cannot call it an army) and the strongest country, perhaps, in the world to rest the defence of the town and colony upon. The ten battalions, and the grenadiers of Louisbourg, are a chosen body of troops, and able to fight the united force of Canada

captain, who, though wounded, would not accept quarter, but fired at one of our officers at the head of five hundred men. Daybreak discovered our forces in possession of the eminence. Montcalm could not credit it, when reported to him — but it was too late to doubt, when nothing but a battle could save the town. Even then, he held our attempt so desperate, that, being shown the position of the English, he said, ‘Où, je les vois où ils ne doivent pas être.’ Forced to quit his entrenchments, he said, ‘S’il faut donc combattre, je vais les écraser!’ He prepared for engagement, after lining the bushes with detachments of Indians. Our men, according to orders, received their fire with a patience and tranquillity equal to the resolution they had exerted in clambering the precipice; but when they gave it, it took place with such terrible slaughter of the enemy, that half an hour decided the day. The French fled precipitately; and Montcalm, endeavouring to rally them, was killed on the spot.

“The fall of Wolfe was noble indeed. He received a wound in the head, but covered it from his soldiers with his handkerchief. A second ball struck him in the belly: that too he dissembled. A third hitting him in the breast, he sunk under the anguish, and was carried behind the ranks. Yet, fast as life ebbed out, his whole anxiety centred on the fortune of the day. He begged to be borne nearer to the action; but his sight being dimmed by the approach of death, he entreated to be told what they who supported him saw: he was answered, that the enemy gave ground. He eagerly repeated the question; heard the enemy was totally routed; cried, ‘I am satisfied!’ — and expired.” — *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 385.

upon even terms. Our field artillery, brought into use, would terrify the militia and the savages ; and our battalions are in every respect superior to those commanded by the Marquis, who acts a circumspect, prudent part, and entirely defensive ; except, in one extraordinary instance, he sent sixteen hundred men over the river to attack our batteries upon the Point of Levy, defended by four battalions. Bad intelligence, no doubt, of our strength, induced him to this measure : however, the detachment judged better than their general, and retired. They dispute the water with the boats of the fleet, by the means of floating batteries, suited to the nature of the river, and innumerable battoes. They have a great artillery upon the ramparts towards the sea, and so placed that shipping cannot affect it.

I meant to attack the left of their entrenchments, favoured by our artillery, the 31st July. A multitude of traverses prevented, in some measure, its effect, which was nevertheless very considerable : accidents hindered the attack, and the enemy's care to strengthen that post has made it since too hazardous. The town is totally demolished, and the country in a great measure ruined ; particularly the lower Canada. Our fleet blocks up the river, both above and below the town, but can give no manner of assistance in an attack upon the Canadian army. We have continual skirmishes ; old people, seventy years of age, and boys of fifteen, fire at our detachments, and kill or wound our men from the edges of the woods. Every man able to

bear arms, both above and below Quebec, is in the camp of Beauport. The old men, women, and children are retired into the woods. The Canadians are extremely dissatisfied; but, curbed by the force of this government, and terrified by the savages that are posted round about them, they are obliged to keep together, to work and to man the entrenchments. Upwards of twenty sail of ships got in before our squadron, and brought succours of all sorts; which were exceedingly wanted in the colony. The sailors of these ships help to work the guns, and others conduct the floating batteries; their ships are lightened and carried up the river out of our reach, at least out of the reach of the men of war. These ships serve a double purpose: they are magazines for their provisions, and at the same time cut off all communication between General Amherst's army and the corps under my command; so that we are not able to make any detachment to attack Montreal, or favour the junction, or, by attacking the fort of Chambly, or Bourlemaqui's corps behind, open the general's way into Canada; all which might have been easily done with ten floating batteries carrying each a gun, and twenty flat-bottomed boats, if there had been no ships in the river. Our poor soldiery have worked without ceasing and without murmuring; and as often as the enemy have attempted upon us, they have been repulsed by the valour of the men. A woody country so well known to the enemy, and an enemy so vigilant and hardy as the Indians and Canadians

are, make entrenchments everywhere necessary ; and by this precaution we have saved a number of lives, for scarce a night passes that they are not close in upon our posts, watching an opportunity to surprise and murder. There is very little quarter given on either side.

We have seven hours, and sometimes (above the town, after rain) near eight hours of the most violent ebb tide that can be imagined, which loses us an infinite deal of time, in every operation on the water ; and the stream is so strong, particularly here, that the ships often drag their anchors by the mere force of the current. The bottom is a bed of rock ; so that a ship, unless it hooks a ragged rock, holds by the weight only of the anchor. Doubtless, if the equinoctial gale has any force, a number of ships must necessarily run ashore and be lost.

The day after the troops landed upon the Isle of Orleans, a violent storm had nigh ruined the expedition altogether. Numbers of boats were lost ; all the whale boats and most of the cutters were stove ; some flat-bottomed boats destroyed, and others damaged. We never had half as many of the latter as are necessary for this extraordinary and very important service. The enemy is able to fight us upon the water, whenever we are out of the reach of the cannon of the fleet.

The extreme heat of the weather in August, and a good deal of fatigue, threw me into a fever ; but that the business might go on, I begged the

generals to consider amongst themselves what was fittest to be done. Their sentiments were unanimous, that (as the easterly winds begin to blow, and ships can pass the town in the night with provisions, artillery, &c.) we should endeavour, by conveying a considerable corps into the upper river, to draw them from their inaccessible situation, and bring them to an action. I agreed to the proposal; and we are now here, with about three thousand six hundred men, waiting an opportunity to attack them, when and wherever they can best be got at. The weather has been extremely unfavourable for a day or two, so that we have been inactive. I am so far recovered as to do business; but my constitution is entirely ruined, without the consolation of having done any considerable service to the state; or without any prospect of it. I have the honour to be, with great respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and most humble servant,

JAM. WOLFE.

DR. MARKHAM⁽¹⁾ TO THE DUCHESS OF
QUEENSBURY.

Westminster, September 25, 1759.

MADAM,

I MUST entreat your Grace's pardon for the trouble I am giving you. It is in behalf of a very

(¹) This eminent and excellent man was at this time head-master of Westminster school, and prebendary of Durham. In

deserving person, with whom I have long had a close friendship. My acquaintance with your Grace's⁽¹⁾ sentiments and feelings persuades me, that I shall not want advocates when I have told you my story.

The consulship at Madrid has been vacant these eight months. Lord Bristol is writing pressing letters to have a consul appointed. I am informed that the office lies so much out of the road of common applications, that it has not yet been asked for ; that it has been offered to some, who have declined it ; and that Mr. Pitt is actually at a loss for a proper person to appoint to it. This has encouraged my friend to think of it. It so happens, that those who might serve him are mostly out of town. He expects, indeed, recommendations from some whom he has writ to. The warm part that I

1765, he obtained the deanery of Rochester, and in 1767, that of Christ Church. In 1771, he was made bishop of Chester, and appointed preceptor to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George the Fourth, and to the Duke of York. In 1776, he was translated to the archbishoprick of York, and died in 1807, in his eighty-ninth year.

(1) Lady Catherine Hyde, daughter of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and wife of Charles Douglas, third Duke of Queensbury, — the famous beauty celebrated by Prior, in the poem beginning, " Thus Kitty, beautiful and young ;" described by Gay as " the cheerful Duchess," — " for friendship, zeal, and blithsome humours known ;" and frequently mentioned in Swift's and in Pope's letters. In 1728, she was forbid the court, for promoting subscriptions to the second part of the Beggars' Opera, when it had been prohibited from being acted. She died in 1777.

take in all his interests obliges me to avail myself of the honour I have of being known to your Grace, and to beg as much of your assistance with Mr. Pitt, as you think you can give me with propriety.

It is time I should say who my friend is. His name is Edmond Burke. As a literary man he may possibly be not quite unknown to you. He is the author of a piece which imposed on the world as Lord Bolingbroke's, called, "The Advantages of Natural Society," and of a very ingenious book published last year, called, "A Treatise on the Sublime and the Beautiful."⁽¹⁾

I must farther say of him, that his chief application has been to the knowledge of public business, and our commercial interests; that he seems to have a most extensive knowledge, with extraordinary talents for business, and to want nothing but ground to stand upon to do his country very important services. Mr. Wood⁽²⁾, the under secretary, has some knowledge of him, and will, I am persuaded, do ample justice to his abilities and character. As for myself, as far as my testimony may serve him, I shall freely venture it on all

(1) Mr. Burke's "Vindication of Natural Society" appeared in 1756, and his "Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful" in 1758.

(2) Mr. Wood was himself an author, and had at this time given to the world two splendid works, in folio, entitled, "Ruins of Palmyra," and "Ruins of Balbec." His "Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer," which has been quoted and commended by Dr. Warton, was published in 1775.

occasions ; as I value him not only for his learning and talents, but as being, in all points of character, a most amiable and most respectable man.

I hope your Grace will forgive my taking up so much of your time. I am really so earnest in this gentleman's behalf, that if I can be instrumental in helping him, I shall think it one of the most fortunate events of my life. I beg leave to trouble you with my compliments to the Duke ; and am, with a fresh remembrance of your many kindnesses,

Your Grace's most obliged
and most faithful servant,

W. MARKHAM.

MR. PITT TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

[From a draught in Mr. Pitt's handwriting.]

September 27, 1759.

MY LORD,

A CONTINUATION of the slight eruption I had upon me, together with a large increase of the deep sense I must have of unexampled depressions, prevents my having the honour of meeting your Grace at Kensington to-morrow.

Unconscious as I am of want of fidelity and diligence, in sustaining the vast and dangerous load his Majesty has been pleased to lay on my feeble shoulders, I will forbear now and for ever entering into a subject, where I may possibly judge amiss, and wherein above all things I most

wish not greatly to err. I shall therefore rest it on the judgment of others, at all times much better than mine, whether, considering Lord Temple's station and my own, the pretension in question has any thing in it exorbitant, or derogatory to the King's honour, or contrary to the good of his affairs. All I mean at present to trouble your Grace with, is to desire, that when next my reluctant steps shall bring me up the stairs of Kensington and mix me with the dust of the antechamber, I may learn, once for all, whether the King continues finally inexorable and obdurate to all such united entreaties and remonstrances, as, except towards me and mine, never fail of success.

I beg your Grace to believe that I am particularly sorry to be forced to add this to all the obliging trouble you have been so good as to take already on such an occasion, and that I am ever, with great truth and respect,

Your Grace's, &c. &c.

W. PITT.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Claremont, September 27, 1759.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE received the honour of your letter, and am extremely sorry for the continuation of your slight indisposition, and that I shall not have the honour to see you to-morrow at Kensington. No-

body can lament more for the King's own sake, as well as for other reasons, the ill success of the many representations which have been made to his Majesty. In making my report of what passed yesterday (which I shall do to-morrow, in the best manner I am able), I shall add all the weight that may most justly be drawn from the force of the letter, with which you honoured me this day. I wish from the bottom of a most sincere heart, that I may be able to send you such an answer as may be agreeable to you. Hitherto, I have no satisfaction, but that I have done my best, and I hope showed the truth and respect with which I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient and

most humble servant,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

P. S. The Duchess of Newcastle begs her best compliments to you and Lady Hester.

At night.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Kensington, September 28, 1759.

DEAR SIR,

I NEVER sat down to write with more real concern and uneasiness than I do at present, being obliged to acquaint you, that all that I have been able to say, both in my own name and that of others

(what I was in hopes would still have had more effect), and the best use I could make of the very proper conversation which I had the honour to have with you on Wednesday last upon this subject, enforced by the contents of your letter of yesterday, have not produced any alteration in the answer, which I was then directed to give.

I have done my duty, have acted agreeably to my conscience and to my declarations, and have omitted nothing, which I thought could in the least contribute to the success of what I had myself so much at heart, and appeared to me so necessary for the service of the King and the public. This is my only comfort. I hope soon to have the pleasure of seeing you, and of acquainting you with some few, not material, circumstances. I most sincerely lament and grieve, and am, with the truest respect, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and

most humble servant

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Newcastle House, October 4, 1759.

DEAR SIR,

I WAS extremely glad to meet you in the Park ; hoping from thence that your slight indisposition was quite over. That any thing else, which may

have given you uneasiness may also be ended to your satisfaction, is the most sincere wish, and has been and shall be the earnest endeavour of, dear Sir,

Your most affectionate and

most humble servant,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

MR. PITT TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

St. James's Square, October 4, 1759.

MY LORD,

I WAS at table when the honour of your Grace's letter came, or I should not have deferred a moment expressing my best thanks for the obliging marks of your Grace's attention to my health; the little alteration wherein has been next to nothing.

The conclusion of your letter is so friendly, that it makes it very hard to keep entirely my word to your Grace in mine from Hayes, never to enter again into a certain subject. I will, however, return no farther to the matter than to observe, that, in my estimation of things, a grace, whose first value was approbation of sincere though feeble endeavours, once refused with hardness, can never, in a true sense, be given.

I am, with the greatest truth and respect, your Grace's

Most obedient and

affectionate humble servant,

W. PITT.

EARL TEMPLE TO MR. PITT.

October 13, 1759.

MY DEAR MR. PITT,

SINCE I came to town last night, I have learnt a fresh instance of your warm and affectionate friendship towards me; which I have ever thought and felt to be the greatest honour and pleasure of my life. You have been so good as to ask of his Majesty the garter for me, as a reward to yourself, and the only one you desire, for all the great and eminent services you have done to the King, to the nation, and to the Electorate; to which request you have, it seems, hitherto met with a refusal.

At the same time that I thank you, and am proud to receive any testimony of your kind regard, permit me to add, that I am not so mean-spirited as to condescend to receive, in my own person, the reward of another man's services, however dear to me, as you so deservedly are on every account. Let the King continue to enjoy in peace the pleasure and honour of this refusal; for if he should happen to be disposed, for other reasons than those of gratitude to you, which will have no weight with him, to give me that mark of distinction, I will not accept it on such terms.

I choose, for many reasons, to write to you upon this subject, rather than talk it over. Do

me only the justice to believe me, with the truest affection, my dear Mr. Pitt,

Your most loving brother,

TEMPLE. ⁽¹⁾

Tuesday morning.

MR. PITT TO PRINCE FERDINAND OF BRUNSWICK.

[From a draught in Mr. Pitt's handwriting.]

Whitehall, ce 16 Octobre, 1759.

MONSEIGNEUR,

VOTRE Altesse Sérénissime prend un intérêt trop vif à tout ce qui regarde la gloire des armes du Roi, en toutes les parties du monde, pour que je ne saisisse point la poste de ce soir pour la communiquer à V. A. S. L'importante ville de Quebec

(¹) In a letter to Sir Horace Mann, of the 16th of November, Mr. Walpole says :—" A very extraordinary event happened; the day after the meeting of parliament: on the 13th of November Lord Temple resigned the privy seal. The account he gives himself is, that he continued to be so ill used by the King, that it was notorious to all the world; that in hopes of taking off that reproach, he had asked for the Garter; being refused, he had determined to resign, at the same time beseeching Mr. Pitt not to resent any thing for him, and insisting with his two brothers that they should keep their places, and act as warmly as ever with the administration; that in an audience of twenty-five minutes, he hoped he had removed his Majesty's prejudices, and should now go out of town, as well satisfied as any man in England." On the 16th of November, Earl Temple, at the request of the King, through the Duke of Devonshire, resumed his office, and, in the following February, was presented with the garter.

se rendit par capitulation le 13^e du mois passé, après que les troupes de sa Majesté eussent remporté une victoire complète sur l'armée François, dans une action générale, qui se donna le 13^e, sur le bord septentrionale du fleuve St. Laurent, un peu au-dessus de Quebec. Nous avons le regret d'avoir perdu notre digne Général Wolfe, tué dans l'action, d'un coup de feu, avec environ cinq cent hommes tués et blessés. On compte que les François en ont perdu treize cent, avec M. de Montcalm, leur général, et plusieurs officiers de marque.

Permettez, Monseigneur, que je vous offre mes félicitations sur un événement, qui doit influencer si puissamment sur la cause commune, et sur le sort de nos alliés. V. A. S. daignera pardonner une lettre écrite si fort à la hâte, et dictée par un empressement respectueux de faire parvenir plus promptement une nouvelle si heureuse.

Je suis, avec le plus profond respect, Monseigneur, de votre Altesse Sérénissime, &c. &c.

W. PITT.

ARCHBISHOP SECKER⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Lambeth, October 17, 1759.

SIR,

I RETURN, with the utmost joy, the congratulations which you have done me the honour to

(1) This distinguished prelate, after sundry preferments, was

send me, and hope these repeated blessings of Providence, and particularly this very great and scarce expected one, will both incline our enemies to peace, and our own people to a just and lasting sense of pious gratitude. I purpose to be at Kensington to-day at noon, to receive his Majesty's commands on this happy occasion ⁽¹⁾; and, at the same time, to assure you that I am, with all possible sincerity and regard, Sir,

Your most faithful

and obedient servant,

THO. CANT.

ARCHBISHOP SECKER TO MR. PITT.

Lambeth, October 19, 1759.

SIR,

I FEEL myself very greatly obliged to you for your frank and friendly remark; and am sure you will give me leave to observe to you in return, that the words of Scripture, Is. xiv. 3. are, *The Lord*

raised in 1735, to the see of Bristol; from which he was translated in 1737 to that of Oxford. On the death of Archbishop Hutton, in March 1758, he was placed in the vacant primacy. Walpole says, that the Duke of Newcastle had great inclination to give it to Dr. Hay Drummond, bishop of St. Asaph, "a man of parts, and of the world," but that Lord Hardwicke's influence carried it for Secker. He died in 1768.

(1) On the 26th, a proclamation was issued for a public thanksgiving.

shall give thee rest from thy sorrow, and from thy fear : and, indeed, our allies have had great cause for both. But if you apprehend, that this is not sufficient to secure these expressions from misconstruction, I am very willing to substitute those which you have suggested, than which none can be more proper ; and shall be always glad to show myself, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

THO. CANT.

Half-past two.

SIR RICHARD LYTTELTON TO MR. PITT.

October 18, 1759.

DEAR SIR,

I CANNOT express the joy of my heart on the great and glorious news you have been so good as to send me, which is rendered still more precious by the accounts in the gazette-extraordinary of yesterday. The loss of Wolfe is, indeed, ever to be lamented ; but Providence gives not the cup of joy unmixed, and were it not for a little ingredient of bitterness, it would be too intoxicating. Townshend still remains, and many a gallant officer, animated by your spirit, and by you brought forward into action. But what remains for them to conquer out of Europe? How great—how glorious! but I trespass upon your goodness. Allow me only to add the Duchess of Bridge-

water's ⁽¹⁾ congratulations to you and Lady Hester.

Ever your most entirely devoted,

R. LYTTELTON.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO MR. PITT.

Wimpole, October 18, 1759.

DEAR SIR,

WITH the greatest pleasure I lay hold on this first opportunity to thank you for the honour of your very obliging note, which I received by yesterday's post.

As a dutiful subject to the King, and lover of my country, and a sincere friend to this administration, I do, upon the happy event of the conquest of Quebec, most cordially congratulate you in a particular manner. This important, and, at the instant it came, unexpected success has crowned the campaign, on the part of England, in the most glorious manner. God grant that it may lead to what we all wish—an honourable and lasting peace. The King has now great materials in his hands for this good work; and I make no doubt but his Majesty and his ministers will make the wisest and the most advantageous use of them.

I have nothing to add but my best wishes for

(¹) Sir Richard married, in 1745, Rachael daughter of Wriothesley, second Duke of Bedford, and widow of Seroop, first Duke of Bridgewater.

your health, and the sincerest assurances of that perfect respect and esteem, with which I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient, and

most humble servant,

HARDWICKE.

ANDREW MITCHELL, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

(*Private.*)

Torgau, October 22, 1759.

SIR,

AFTER returning you my most hearty thanks for your kind letter of the 12th of June last, permit me to congratulate you on the glorious success of his Majesty's arms, by sea and by land; which we here on the continent ascribe to your manly counsels, and expect to feel the farther effects of them, where it is much wanted.

I must not conceal from you, that I think the Prussian affairs are still in a very doubtful and dangerous situation; but I cannot despair whilst the Hero lives. What he has done with a handfull of men since the unhappy 12th of August last, is equally as incredible as what his enemies, at the head of numerous armies, have left undone since that period.

A few days before his Prussian Majesty left the camp of Schmotseiffen, in order to fight the Russians, talking at table of England, he said: —
“ *Il faut avouer que l'Angleterre a été long-tems*

en travail, et qu'elle a beaucoup soufferte pour produire Monsieur Pitt; mais enfin elle est acouchée d'un homme." Such a testimony, from such a prince, crowns you with honour, and fills me with pleasure.

Allow me, Sir, to recommend to you my private pretensions and concerns, when occasions offer. If, hitherto, I have never mentioned them to you, the reason will occur to yourself; for no man wishes more to deserve your friendship than I do, nor is with more sincerity and attachment, dear Sir,

Your most obliged and
most obedient humble servant,
AND. MITCHELL.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Newcastle House, October 23, 1759.

DEAR SIR,

THE enclosed letters, and my answer to Mr. Yorke, will I hope convince you, that this is an affair of no serious consequence whatever, and I am sure sent to me purely for amusement. I know not one word of it. When I received it, I read it to the King for amusement only. I was determined to say not one word upon it, but to send it back; as I should have done this very night, if I did not send the copies to you. I would not enter into any correspondence of business, and especially relating

to peace, with Mr. Yorke, or any of the King's ministers whatever, upon any account in the world. I am as innocent and as ignorant of every thing relating to this affair, if it be of consequence, as any man alive. You know the whole now, and I hope you will not think there is the least design of any kind in it. I was sorry when it was sent me, and determined to send it back to him again to be sent to my Lord Holderness, as the only proper person who could make use of it, if it should come out to be any thing.

I am with great respect, dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE. ⁽¹⁾

PRINCE FERDINAND OF BRUNSWICK TO MR. PITT.

A' Croffdorff, ce 25 Octobre, 1759.

MONSIEUR,

VOTRE Excellence ne s'est point trompée dans le jugement qu'il lui a plu de porter de la part que

(¹) "General Yorke, at the Hague, had received some anonymous proposals of peace, and had transmitted them to his father, who communicated them to the Duke of Newcastle. The latter mentioned them to Knyphausen, the Prussian minister, who, though enjoined to secrecy, revealed them to Lord Holderness. The latter, who had quitted Newcastle for Pitt, instantly carried the intelligence to his new patron. Pitt, enraged to find a negotiation carrying on without the participation of either secretary, reproached Newcastle in warm terms."
— *Walpole's Geo. II.* vol ii. 398.

je prendrois à la conquête de Quebec, dont elle a bien voulu me faire parvenir la nouvelle, et à la gloire que les armes de sa Majesté y ont acquis de nouveau. J'en ai ressenti une satisfaction des plus vives. C'est un double intérêt qui m'y fait prendre part — celui de la cause commune, et celui de l'amitié pour votre Excellence en particulier. Je me réjouis de tout mon cœur avec vous, Monsieur, de ce grand événement ; et je vois en même temps, avec un plaisir indicible, les succès qui accompagnent les mesures que vous avez su prendre, avec autant de sagesse que de force. Si la paix se fait durant cet hiver, elle sera avantageuse. Si la guerre continue, il y a de l'apparence qu'elle sera faite avec succès. C'est une justice que toute l'Europe vous doit, et l'Angleterre en particulier, que vous ne faites pas les choses à moitié.

Nous avons célébrés avec toute la pompe militaire, tant la victoire, que la prise de Quebec. Si la joie a été universelle de cet événement, le regret d'avoir perdu le brave Général Wolfe ne l'a pas été moins. Quant à moi, je l'ai vivement partagé avec tous ceux qui le connoissoient personnellement, par tout le bien qu'ils m'en avoient dit.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec les sentimens de l'amitié et de l'estime les plus parfaites, Monsieur, de votre Excellence

Le très humble, très obéissant serviteur,

FERDINAND DUC DE BRUNSWIC.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Claremont, November 3, 1759.

DEAR SIR,

I TAKE the liberty to send you a draught of the Speech⁽¹⁾, which I received from my Lord Hardwicke yesterday, after I saw you. I think it is very well drawn, and a very proper one; but it is always subject to such alterations as you may think proper to make.

I suggested to my Lord Hardwicke the connecting in some manner the mention of peace, with the transaction now carrying on for that purpose. I am very sorry to acquaint you that he has been, and is still so much out of order, that he had neither strength nor spirits to do it. I have therefore taken the liberty to suggest a few words, upon a separate paper, which seem to me to coincide with your idea; but this, as well as every other part of the Speech, is entirely submitted to you.⁽²⁾ Lord Hardwicke is advised by his physician

(1) The King's speech on opening the session.

(2) The parliament met on the 13th of the month. Horace Walpole, who was present, gives the following account of what passed in the House of Commons:—"Beckford, by a high-flown ecomium on Mr. Pitt, paved the way for that minister to open on his own and our situation; which he did with great address, seeming to waive any merit, but stating our success in a manner that excluded all others from a share in it. He disclaimed partiicular praise, and professed his determination of keeping united with the rest of the ministers. Fidelity and diligence was all he could boast, though his bad health perhaps had caused him to relax somewhat of his application. Not a week, he said,

to get to town as soon as he can; and he proposes, if possible, to be in town this evening.

As I shall not have an opportunity of seeing him till Monday evening, I hope there will be no inconvenience in putting off our meeting with the Prussian ministers till Tuesday noon at Kensington, or Tuesday evening at Lord Holderness's house; and by that time we shall be more certain of having an answer from Prince Lewis. I am, with great respect, dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

had passed in the summer but had been a crisis, in which he had not known whether he should be torn in pieces, or commended, as he was now, by Mr. Beckford; that the more a man was versed in business, the more he found the hand of Providence everywhere; that success had given us unanimity, not unanimity success; that for himself, however, he could not have dared as he had done, but in these times. Other ministers had hoped as well, but had not been circumstanced to dare as much. He thought the stone almost rolled to the top of the hill; but it might roll back with dreadful supercussion. weak moment in the field, or in council, might overturn all; for there was no such thing as chance; it was the unaccountable name of Nothing. All was Providence, whose favour was to be merited by virtue. Our allies must be supported: if one wheel stopped, all might. He had unlearned his juvenile errors, and thought no longer that England could do all by itself. He ended with a mention of peace. Any body, he said, could advise him in war: who could draw such a peace as would please every body? He would snatch at the first moment of peace, though he wished he could leave off at the war. This conclusion seemed to come from his heart, and perhaps escaped him without design. Though no man knew so well how to say what he pleased, no man ever knew so little what he was going to say." — *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 389.

MRS. WOLFE TO MR. PITT.

Blackheath, November 6, 1759.

SIR,

I MAKE no doubt but you will be surprised to receive a letter from the most distressed and afflicted of mortals ⁽¹⁾; but as you did my dear son the honour to entrust him with so great and important an affair as the taking of Quebec, which you, Sir, planned and he executed, I hope to his Majesty's, your, and his country's satisfaction, — though God knows, to my irreparable loss — yet it occurs to me, that there may be some papers or orders of yours, relating to the government service, which will come to me. If you will honour me with your commands, I shall send them by a faithful and trusty gentleman, who carries this, lieutenant Scott; and no eye shall see them but your own.

(1) "The mother of General Wolfe," wrote Mr. Burke, in the Annual Register for this year, "was an object marked out for pity by great and peculiar distress. The public wound pierced her mind with a particular affection, who had experienced the dutiful son, the amiable domestic character, whilst the world admired the accomplished officer. Within a few months she had lost her husband: she now lost her son, her only child. The populace of the village where she lived unanimously agreed to admit no illuminations or firings, or any other sign of rejoicing whatsoever, near her house, lest they should seem, by an ill-timed triumph, to insult over her grief. There was a justness in this; and whoever knows the people, knows that they made no small sacrifice on this occasion."

The present situation of my tortured mind will, I hope, plead my excuse for all mistakes. I have the honour to be, with great respect, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

H. WOLFE.

P.S. — I beg, Sir, that you and Lady Hester Pitt will accept of my grateful thanks for the honour you did me in enquiring after my health.

MR. PITT TO MRS. WOLFE.

Hayes, November 8, 1759.

MADAM,

I ESTEEM myself as truly honoured as I am deeply affected, with the favour of your very obliging letter. The attention which you are so good as to give, in the circumstances in which you write, to such papers as may come to your hands relative to the King's service, is worthy of the mother of such a son. Your affliction is too just to receive any degree of consolation from one who feels, Madam, the cause of your sorrow too sincerely and sensibly, to be able to offer any topics of relief to you. May Heaven, who assists the virtuous, grant you every possible comfort, under a loss which nothing can repair to you or to England!

Be assured, Madam, that I shall think myself honoured and happy in being able to serve whoever had the patronage of him who could only protect merit. Lieutenant Bell will, I trust, soon receive

marks of the King's regard to the memory of General Wolfe.

I am, with the most perfect respect, Madam,

Your most obedient and

most humble servant,

W. PITT.⁽¹⁾

Lady Hester begs leave to assure you of her best respects.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL TOWNSHEND TO MR. PITT.

On board the Somerset, 12 o'clock,

November 19, 1759.

SIR,

HAVING this moment been prevented from bringing you the despatches which General Monckton

(1) On the 21st of the month, Mr. Pitt moved the House of Commons for an address to the King, to direct a monument to be erected in Westminster Abbey to the memory of Wolfe. His speech upon this occasion is thus characterised by Walpole:—"In a low and plaintive voice, he pronounced a kind of funeral oration. It was, perhaps, the worst harangue he ever uttered. His eloquence was too native not to suffer by being crowded into a ready prepared mould. The parallels which he drew from Greek and Roman story did but flatten the pathetic of the topic. Mr. Pitt himself had done more for Britain than any orator for Rome. Our three last campaigns had overrun more world than they conquered in a century; and for the Grecians, their story were a pretty theme if the town of St. Albans were waging war with that of Brentford. The horror of the night, the precipice scaled by Wolfe, the empire he, with a handful of men, added to England, and the glorious catastrophe of contentedly terminating life where his fame began — ancient story may be ransacked, and ostentatious philosophy thrown into the account, before an episode can be found to rank with Wolfe's." — *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 392.

charged me with at Quebec, by Admiral Saunders directing his course for Admiral Hawke instead of England,⁽¹⁾ I beg leave to trouble you with these lines to inform you, that when we left Quebec, which was the 18th October, the garrison was in a very good state, considering the time and labour requisite to provide for so long a winter. The French were cantooning themselves as well as they could about Jacques Quartier, though in great distress for want of almost the common necessaries of life; the country harassed extremely by the necessary oppression they undergo to supply their army.

As the admiral assures me that I shall have an opportunity to send or bring these despatches by a frigate, within a day or two after we have joined

(1) Two days after the date of this letter, Mr. Pitt, in moving the thanks of the House of Commons to the admirals and generals employed in the expedition against Quebec, mentioned them all, particularly Admiral Saunders, whose merit, he said, had equalled those who have beaten armadas: "May I anticipate?" cried he, "those who *will* beat armadas!" His anticipation of Saunders's renown was prophetic: "That admiral," says Walpole, "was a pattern of most steady bravery, united with the most unaffected modesty; no man said less, or deserved more. Simplicity in his manners, generosity, and good-nature, adorned his genuine love of his country. His services at Quebec had been eminent. Returning thence, he heard that M. Conflans had taken the opportunity of Sir Edward Hawke's retiring to Gibraltar to refit, and had sailed out of Brest. Saunders, who heard the news at Plymouth, far from thinking he had done enough, turned back instantaneously, and sailed to assist Hawke. His patriotism dictated that step, and would not wait for other orders. He arrived too late — but a moment so embraced could not be accounted lost." — *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 394.

Sir Edward Hawke, I thought it better than by the chance of a transport vessel without convoy; nor could I, perhaps, properly leave this ship, now sailing with such a prospect of an action, which I hope I shall soon have the honour of congratulating you upon, as the most decisive stroke ever struck to the French nation.

Accept, Sir, my congratulations upon the glorious success of his Majesty's arms this year; which I hope will be followed, in a few days, by the best accounts.⁽¹⁾ I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

Your most obedient,

humble servant,

GEO. TOWNSHEND.

(1) The glorious victory which, on the following day, Sir Edward Hawke obtained over the French squadron off Quiberon Bay, is thus graphically described by Walpole: — "On the first notice that the French fleet had escaped out of Brest, that prudent and active officer, Sir Edward Hawke, sailed in quest of it. He had twenty-three ships; they twenty-one. He came up with them on their own coast; and, before half his fleet had joined him, began the attack. Conflans at first made a show of fighting, but soon took the part of endeavouring to shelter himself among the rocks, of which that coast is full. It was the 20th of November: the shortness of the day prevented the total demolition of the enemy; but neither darkness nor a dreadful tempest that ensued could call off Sir Edward from pursuing his blow. The roaring of the elements was redoubled by the thunder from our ships; and both concurred, in that scene of horror, to put a period to the navy and hopes of France. Seven ships of the line got into the river Vilaine, eight more escaped to different ports. Conflans's own ship and another were run on shore and burnt. One we took. Two of ours were lost in the storm, but the crews saved. Lord Howe, who attacked the Formidable, bore down on her with such violence, that her prow

HORACE WALPOLE⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

November 19, 1759.

SIR,

ON my coming to town I did myself the honour of waiting on you and Lady Hester Pitt; and though I think myself extremely distinguished by

forced in his lower tier of guns. Captain Digby, in the Dunkirk, received the fire of twelve of the enemy's ships, and lost not a man. Keppel's was full of water, and he thought it sinking: a sudden squall emptied his ship, but he was informed all his powder was wet — 'Then,' said he, 'I am sorry I am safe.' They came and told him, a small quantity was undamaged — 'Very well,' said he, 'then attack again.' Not above eight of our ships were engaged in obtaining that decisive victory."—See *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 395.

(¹) Horace Walpole, the third and youngest son of Sir Robert Walpole, was born in 1717, and educated at Eton school and King's College, Cambridge. He entered the House of Commons in September 1741, and finally retired therefrom in 1768; upon which occasion, he wrote thus to Mr. George Montague:—"I do not think that I shall repent my resolution; for what could I see but sons and grandsons playing over the same knaveries, that I have seen their fathers and grandfathers act? Could I hear oratory beyond my Lord Chatham's? Will there ever be parts equal to Charles Townshend's?" From this time he devoted himself to literary and antiquarian pursuits. In 1791, on the death of his nephew, he succeeded to the title of Earl of Orford; which he affected to despise, calling it a new name for a superannuated old man of seventy-four. He never took his seat in the House of Lords, and died in 1797, in his eightieth year. Of his posthumous "*Memoirs of the Last Ten Years of George the Second*," which appeared in 1822, it may not be improper to observe, that the characters which the author has therein drawn of his political enemies, ought to be invariably read with considerable distrust.

your obliging note, I should be sorry for having given you the trouble of writing it, if it did not lend me a very pardonable opportunity of saying what I much wished to express, but thought myself too private a person and of too little consequence to take the liberty to say. In short, Sir, I was eager to congratulate you on the lustre you have thrown on this country ; I wished to thank you for the security you have fixed to me of enjoying the happiness I do enjoy. You have placed England in a situation in which it never saw itself — a task the more difficult, as you had not to improve but recover.

In a trifling book, written two or three years ago⁽¹⁾, I said (speaking of the name in the world the most venerable to me), “ sixteen unfortunate and inglorious years since his removal have already written his eulogium.” It is but justice to you, Sir, to add, that that period ended when your administration began.

Sir, do not take this for flattery : there is nothing in your power to give that I would accept ; nay, there is nothing I could envy, but what I believe you would scarce offer me, your glory. This may seem very vain and insolent ; but consider, Sir, what a monarch is a man who wants nothing ; consider how he looks down on one who is only the most illustrious man in Britain. But, Sir, freedoms apart ; insignificant as I am, probably it must be some satisfaction to a great mind like your's, to receive

(1) His “ Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors.”

incense when you are sure there is no flattery blended with it. And what must any Englishman be that could give you a moment's satisfaction, and would hesitate?

Adieu, Sir. I am unambitious, I am uninterested, —but I am vain. You have by your notice, uncanvassed, unexpected, and at the period when you certainly could have the least temptation to stoop down to me, flattered me in the most agreeable manner. If there could arrive the moment when you could be nobody, and I any body, you cannot imagine how grateful I would be. In the mean time, permit me to be, as I have been ever since I had the honour of knowing you, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

HORACE WALPOLE.

MR. PITT TO LADY HESTER PITT.

[November 19, 1759.]

MY SWEETEST LOVE,

AFTER much court and more House of Commons, with Jemmy Rivers ⁽¹⁾ since a hasty repast, what refreshment and delight to sit down to address these lines to the dearest object of my every thought! I will begin with telling you I am well; for that it is my happiness to know my adored first wishes to hear; and I will next tell myself

(1) One of the under secretaries.

(and trust in heaven that my hopes don't deceive me), that this letter will find you and all our little angels in perfect health ; them in joyful, and you in serene and happy spirits. The bitter wind has forbid all garden occupations, and little William⁽¹⁾ will naturally have called your attentions more towards that springing human plant, than to objects out of doors.

I wait with longing impatience for the groom's return, with ample details of you and yours. Send me, my sweetest life, a thousand particulars of all those *little-great* things which, to those who are blessed as we, so far surpass in excellence and exceed in attraction, all the *great-little* things of the busy, restless world. That laborious world forbids my wished-for journey on Wednesday, and protracts till the evening our happy meeting.

No news but what your faithful papers administer at breakfast ; except, what perhaps they may not notice, viz. that Lord George Sackville has shown his face at the opera. The event is hardly worth mentioning ; as nothing was wanting to complete that great man's heroic assurance.

Your ever loving husband,

W. PITT.

Monday night, eleven o'clock.

(¹) Their second son, born on the 28th of May.

MRS. WOLFE TO MR. PITT.

Blackheath, November 27, 1759.

SIR,

ON Saturday last Captain Bell sent me my dear son's box of papers and letters, after keeping them a fortnight; the sight of which agitated me so much, that till this day I was incapable of doing myself the honour of writing or sending them to you. It gives me great uneasiness, Sir, to find that Mr. Bell has officiously and without any authority opened the box, and looked over both the public and private papers it contained, and, as he terms it, sorted them; — a proceeding I look upon as very unjustifiable, and which has defeated the intention I had of no one's seeing them but yourself. But be assured, Sir, they are sent exactly as I received them from Captain Bell. If they will now be any way satisfactory to you, it will give me great pleasure; who have the honour to be, with great respect, Sir,

Your most obliged and

most obedient humble servant,

H. WOLFE.

P.S. — I beg leave to present my best compliments to Lady Hester Pitt and Miss Pitt. Might I, Sir, presume to take the liberty of recommending any one person to your protection, it is the bearer, Lieutenant Grant Scott; who, in losing my son, has lost his only friend and interest.

MR. PITT TO PRINCE FERDINAND OF BRUNSWICK.

November 27, 1759.

MONSEIGNEUR,

AGRÉEZ que j'offre encore à V. A. S. les félicitations les plus vives et les plus respectueuses, sur toutes les belles manœuvres et sur les brillants succès qui viennent de rendre la fin de la campagne digne de tout le reste. Les merveilles que V. A. S. ne cesse d'opérer feroient du côté de la gloire des armes alliées, compensation des malheurs de la Stade ; mais sur le tableau que vous avez daigné faire, Monseigneur, des affaires de sa Majesté Prusienne, quelques ressources qu'on doit toujours attribuer au génie de ce grand Monarque, on ne peut qu'appréhender vivement pour les suites de la campagne prochaine. Les fâcheuses influences que doivent en dériver les états de sa Majesté sont mises dans un jour si frappant par les judicieuses réflexions dont il a plû à V. A. S. de m'honorer, que j'aurois crû manquer essentiellement au Roi, si j'eusse différé un moment de faire l'usage convenable de ses hautes lumières, y mettant toute la circonspection et le secret, que la nature de la chose exige, et que V. A. S. me prescrit.

My Lord Holderness dépêche ce soir, en conséquence, des instructions à Mr. Yorke de sonder M. d'Affry sur les dispositions de sa cour ; et Mr. Mitchell et pareillement instruit de recommander

à sa Majesté Prusienne de tâcher d'ouvrir avec la France quelque négociation.⁽¹⁾

Voici, Monseigneur, le prompt effet des lumières et des raisonnemens que vous avez daigné me confier, et où la franchise d'une âme vraiment grande se fait admirer, autant que la force d'un esprit supérieur.

Permettez, Monseigneur, que je vous renouvelle tous les hommages déjà entièrement devoué à V. A. S. ; et vivement pénétré de nouveau de cette dernière marque de confiance dont elle vient de m'honorer, je suis, &c. &c.

W. PITT.

(1) The following is a copy of the Declaration which Prince Louis of Brunswick was desired to deliver to the ministers of the belligerent powers residing at the Hague, in the name of the Kings of England, and of Prussia : —

“ Their Britannic and Prussian Majesties, touched with compassion when they reflect on the evils which have been occasioned, and must still necessarily result, from the war which has been kindled for some years past, would think themselves wanting to the duties of humanity, and particularly regardless of the interest they take in the preservation and welfare of their respective kingdoms and subjects, if they neglected to use proper measures towards checking the progress of this cruel pestilence, and to contribute towards the re-establishment of public tranquillity. It is with this view, and in order to ascertain the sincerity of their intentions in this respect, that their aforesaid Majesties have resolved to make the following Declaration : —

“ That they are ready to send plenipotentiaries to any place which shall be judged most convenient, in order to treat, in conjunction, concerning a general and firm peace, with those whom the belligerent powers shall think proper to authorise on their side, towards the accomplishment of so salutary an end.”

MRS. WOLFE TO MR. PITT.

Blackheath, November 30, 1759.

SIR,

THE great honour your letter of the 28th does me, has given me resolution, which no other consideration could do, to make an application, which I hope, Sir, you will not disapprove. My dear son, not knowing the disposition his father had made of his fortune—which was wholly settled on me for life, and magnified by fame greatly beyond what it really is—has left to his friends more than a third part of it ; and, though I should have the greatest pleasure imaginable in discharging these legacies in my lifetime, I cannot do it without distressing myself to the highest degree.

My request to you, good and great Sir, is, that you will honour me with your instructions, how I may, in the properest manner, address his Majesty for a pension, to enable me to fulfil the generous and kind intentions of my most dear lost son to his friends, and to live like the relict of General Wolfe ⁽¹⁾ and General Wolfe's mother. I hope, Sir, you will pardon this liberty. I have the honour to be, with great respect, Sir,

Your most obliged and most
obedient, humble servant,

H. WOLFE. ⁽²⁾

(1) Lieut. General Edward Wolfe died in the preceding March.

(2) Mrs. Wolfe died in 1764, bequeathing sundry sums to the families of the officers who served at Quebec under her son, 500*l.* to Bromley college, and 1000*l.* to the society for promoting English Protestant working-schools in Ireland.

MEMORANDUM TRANSMITTED BY LORD HOWE TO
MR. PITT.

At Vannes, November 30, 1759.

A CONVERSATION, happening with the Duke D'Aiguillon⁽¹⁾ the evening before my departure from Vannes, on the subject of the different state of affairs in the two kingdoms, and the favourable conjuncture for the offer of such conditions of peace as might amply correspond with the motives inducing the British court to enter into the present war, — it occurred to the Duke to request a second interview with me next morning, when just then preparing to set out on my return to the fleet: whereupon ensued the presentation of full powers, vested in himself alone, to treat of peace on such terms as should be thought suitable on either part; the procuring of which was expressed, in those powers given for the occasion, to be the object of the French armament in the proposed invasion of the British islands.

This overture the Duke desired might be made known to Mr. Secretary Pitt with all convenient dispatch; and if acceptable, (led by the honour done me in the summer of the last year to misjudge so far of my pretensions) was very urgent that I should apply for a proper authority, with the which

(1) A considerable number of French troops were at this time assembled, under the Duke D'Aiguillon, at Vannes in Lower Bretagne, to assist in the threatened invasion of England.

he would in that case be likewise provided, in order for our proceeding thereupon together in the conclusion of this business. He alleged it as a chief reason, in answer to my relation of the objections which would naturally be made to this part of his proposal, that by such my appointment (seemingly for the single purpose of commanding the guard on the port of equipment) under cloak of the friendly acquaintance already established, a mutual intercourse might be carried on unsuspected, and this negotiation conducted with the utmost privacy regarding the French allies. He added also his wishes that a cessation of arms might take place in the mean time.

Not thinking it necessary to dwell longer upon the impropriety of my aiming at such a distinction on which he continued to lay much stress, relative to his own farther concernment as a principal in this matter, — or deeming it of any present consequence to undeceive him in that respect, — I closed the conversation, by assuring him that these several particulars should be communicated in substance as desired, and an answer thereunto requested; for the receipt of which he signified, that the French court would be accordingly prepared.

HOWE.

THE RIGHT HON. RICHARD RIGBY TO MR. PITT. ⁽¹⁾

Dublin Castle, December 2, 1759.

DEAR SIR,

I AM most excessively obliged to you for your very kind private letter of the 21st of November. To be in any respect esteemed by you, I do assure you has been the object of my wishes, ever since I had the good fortune to be a little known to you

⁽¹⁾ Mr. Rigby was at this time one of the lords of trade in England, master of the rolls in Ireland, and secretary to the Duke of Bedford; by whom he was introduced into public life, and to whom he had chiefly recommended himself by his convivial qualities. In 1778, he obtained the lucrative office of paymaster of the British forces; and continued to hold it till the year 1786. He died in 1788. His portrait is thus drawn by Walpole:—"Rigby had an advantageous and manly person, recommended by a spirited jollity that was very pleasing, though sometimes roughened into brutality: of most insinuating good breeding, when he wished to be agreeable. His passions were turbulent and overbearing; his courage bold, and fond of exerting itself. His parts strong and quick, but totally uncultivated; and so much had he trusted to unaffected common sense, that he could never afterwards acquire the necessary temperament of art in his public speaking. He placed his honour in steady addiction to whatever faction he was united with; and from the gaiety of his temper, having indulged himself in profuse drinking, he was often hurried beyond the bounds of that interest which he meant should govern all his actions, and which his generous extravagance for ever combated. In short, he was a man who was seldom liked or hated with moderation; yet he himself, though a violent opponent, was never a bitter enemy. His amiable qualities were all natural; his faults acquired, or fatally linked to him by the chain of some other failings."—*Memoirs*, vol. ii. 254.

some years ago at Bath. My different connections in life have not been the pleasanter to me for setting me at a distance from you ; nor had I ever an opportunity of meeting you, that I did not feel a sensible satisfaction in it. I look upon all those political obstructions as at an end ; and I am the more happy to find they have made no impression upon your mind to my disservice, because I esteem and honour you.

I have written to the Duke of Newcastle to give up my seat at the board of trade. I know my own merit too well to expect such pluralities, and am much flattered that it has been left to me to resign it. That, and the expeditious manner in which the mastership of the rolls was obtained for me, have much enhanced the value of the employment, and the obligations I am under to those who were so kind as to solicit it for me ; amongst the first of whom I reckon Mr. Pitt, and am happy to owe an obligation to him. Being with the truest regard, dear Sir,

Your most obliged and

obedient humble servant,

RICHD. RIGBY.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO MR. PITT.

Madrid, December 3, 1759.

SIR,

I TAKE the earliest opportunity of returning you my sincere thanks for the honour of your most

obliging private letter, which was delivered to me by the messenger Maddox. I shall defer sending an answer to the first part of it; till I can write without constraint by the return of the same messenger. All I will say in general is, that you may be assured I will, to the utmost of my power, endeavour to obey your commands.

Letters came here last post from Rochfort and Bourdeaux, which have brought accounts of an engagement between Sir Edward Hawke and M. de Conflans, greatly to the disadvantage of the French. You will certainly have received this intelligence before my letter reaches you; but I am too impatient to congratulate you upon the various and signal successes of his Majesty's forces during your administration, to delay my felicitations till we are more fully informed of this glorious conclusion of the campaign. I only mention the great want of an able consul-general at Madrid, to assure you, Sir, that I am convinced the difficulty of supplying that vacancy does not proceed from you; and sooner or latter it is impossible but that the King's business must suffer upon that account.

I sincerely wish you health, as I am convinced it is the only bar you have to happiness; for the consciousness of worth, great talents, and deserved applause, must give you that inward satisfaction, which no one but yourself can feel. Amidst the general approbation of your country, I beg leave to offer my tribute of respect and esteem; for no

one can be more unfeignedly, or with more perfect regard than I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and

most humble servant,

BRISTOL.

THE RIGHT HON. RICHARD RIGBY TO MR. PITT.

Dublin Castle, December 5, 1759.

SIR,

As you will receive from my lord-lieutenant, by this packet, a very particular account of a most outrageous attack made upon both houses of parliament by an unruly, barbarous, and drunken mob on Monday last, I shall trouble you with a very short detail, by way of *sùpplement*. (¹)

(¹) On the 3d of December. "There happened," says Walpole, "at this juncture, another point, which alarmed the Irish more than the rumours of invasion: this was a jealousy that an union with England was intended. This union was, indeed, a favourite object with Lord Hillsborough: he had hinted such a wish a year or two before in the parliament of England, and being now in Ireland, let drop expressions of the same tendency. This was no sooner divulged than Dublin was in a flame. The mob grew outrageous, and assembled at the door of the House of Commons. Mr. Rigby went forth, and assured them there was no foundation for their jealousy; but *his* word they would not take. Ponsonby, the speaker, was at last obliged to go out and pacify them; and Mr. Rigby declared in the House, that if a bill of union was brought in, he would vote against it. The tumult then subsided; but Rigby soon after moving that the lord-lieutenant might, on an emergency,

I have spared no pains to discover the authors and abettors of it, but hitherto my endeavours have been to no purpose. The pretence put into their mouths is, a union with Great Britain, and an abolition of parliaments here. They are of the very lowest and scum of the people; desperate by nature, made more so by drams; and they have shown no regard to persons, or to parties which heretofore subsisted in this country. The being a member of either house of parliament was the crime, and they tendered oaths indiscriminately to all, to swear they were true to their country; and the taking such oaths did not satisfy the more.

The Earl of Inchiquin was one object of their fury in his way to the House of Lords, or rather at his entrance into it. They stripped him of his wig and ribbon, and he escaped in imminent danger of his life. ⁽¹⁾ Mr. Rowley, who is a privy councillor and a man of great fortune, was dragged the length of a street by them, and narrowly escaped being thrown into the river and drowned. Mr. Morres, a member of parliament and one of

such as on an invasion, summon the parliament to meet, without an intervention of forty days, the former suspicions revived, and a dangerous riot ensued." — *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 401.

⁽¹⁾ "Lord Inchiquin, who was newly arrived from the country, on purpose to oppose the rumoured union, was insulted. The mob pulled off his perriwig and put the oath to him. He had an impediment in his speech, and stuttering, they cried, 'Damn you, do you hesitate?' But hearing that his name was O'Bryen, their rage was turned into acclamations." — *Ib.* p. 403.

the King's council, was stripped of his very shirt, and beat and bruised. The attorney-general⁽¹⁾ was wounded in his chariot, which he was obliged to quit, and to take refuge in the college. These are but a few of very many instances of the like nature. I have heard that, by their discourses, I have been a principal object of their aversion; but I have never failed going to parliament and from it in my own chariot, and have never met with insult or blow from them, though I have observed unpleasant countenances.⁽²⁾ In the various reports which you may imagine have been brought to me of this tumult from time to time, the Duke of Bedford's name has never once been mentioned.

After this account, I wish I could pretend to ascribe the true motive of it to you. It certainly may be occasioned by emissaries from France, though I think I should have discovered it, if that had been the cause. The better kind of people, the tradesman and the like, are ashamed and terrified at such proceedings, and are one and all with the parliament, willing and desirous to concur in every means to subdue them. The magistrates have undoubtedly been remiss. The lord mayor is a timorous and weak man. He with the sheriffs have been at the bar of the House of Commons

(1) Warden Flood, Esq.

(2) Walpole, on the contrary, states, that "their greatest fury was intended against Rigby; for whom they prepared a gallows, and were determined to hang him on it, but fortunately that morning he had gone out of town to ride, and received timely notice not to return."—*Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 404.

many hours to-day, and I have told them and the House my opinion in the strongest terms upon this state of things, worse than anarchy ; and I must do the House the justice to say they are willing to support me to the utmost.

I hope, Sir, you will hear no more of such shameful misdemeanors⁽¹⁾ ; and be assured, that all spirit shall be shown in the execution of the laws, if more of them shall happen. I am, with the greatest esteem and regard, Sir,

Your most obliged and

obedient humble servant,

RICHD. RIGBY.

SIR RICHARD LYTTTELTON TO MR. PITT.

Ealing, December 11, 1759.

DEAR SIR,

THE situation of my health is, indeed, very melancholy and affecting to me ; but allow me to say, that the confinement it lays me under, and the

(1) Walpole further states, that "they pulled the bishop of Killala out of his coach, as they did the lord chancellor Bowes, and proceeded to the House of Lords, where they committed the grossest indecencies, placed an old woman on the throne, and sent for pipes and tobacco for her : they next went to the House of Commons, and ordered the clerk to bring them the journals to burn. He obeyed ; but, telling them they would destroy the only records of the glorious year 1755, they were contented to restore them."—*Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 404.

degree of exclusion from the society and pleasures of the world, is not the part the most affecting to me ; but, incapacitated as I am from endeavouring to contribute my mite to the successes of my country, my heart is warmed with them, and overflows with satisfaction when I reflect to whom, under God, we are principally indebted for so wonderful a change as your spirit, wisdom, and magnanimity have wrought in so short an administration.

And give me leave, my dear Sir, without flattery to say, that, confined as I am to my chair, useless to you and to my country, my heart grows proud within me, and feels a secret exultation to receive such assurances of love and friendship from a man so distinguished by the admiration of this kingdom, and of Europe. May your plans for the success of our arms in every part of the globe, and for the prosperity of us and our posterity, continue to be prosperous ! May every wish of your heart be fully satisfied ! Whatever may be my particular situation, I cannot then be unhappy. The Duchess sends her most affectionate compliments to you and Lady Hester ; and we both desire our best acknowledgments for the kind visit of yesterday. I am ever, my dear Sir, by inclination and by gratitude,

Your most devoted and affectionate,

RICHARD LYTTELTON.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO MR. PITT.

Madrid, December 19, 1759.

SIR,

I HAVE written so much to you in my public despatch about the affair of the Guerrero, that I will trouble you very little at present, otherwise than to answer that part of your private letter which relates to this business. I made use of all the arguments you suggested to me by the King's orders, as well as those you favoured me with in private, for M. Wall's conviction; and if it was possible for you to be minutely informed of all that passes between the Spanish minister and myself, where our two courts disagree, you would be convinced, Sir, that all possible candour and coolness is exerted on each side, without the temper of either receiving the smallest agitation.

As I can write to you now with the greatest freedom, I will acquaint you, that I am convinced General Wall is obliged to second the opinion of the rest of these ministers in our disputes, lest they should endeavour to represent him to the Catholic King as more devoted to England than to Spain; which has been the constant language of his enemies at this court, though totally void of foundation; for I am persuaded his attachment to Great Britain proceeds from his being convinced that Spain can only make a great and independent figure by a close union with the court of England. He has often told me

how much he wanted to retire from all business. He has certainly solicited his release in the last reign, as well as the present one, but was denied by the King of Spain in the most flattering manner, as he was by the late Prince. He wants a quiet retreat, to pay his debts, and to devote the remainder of his life to his Creator ; for he has for some time been very religiously inclined. ⁽¹⁾

I beg of you, Sir, not to think I ask your advice as a mere compliment. Do that justice to your own conduct, which all the world does for you, and then be convinced that I solicit counsel of the man whose talents I admire the most, and whose judgment I would willingly make the criterion of my own actions.

It was with pleasure I heard that your friend and relation has, since his audience in the closet, been distinguished in the manner that his rank entitled him to be.⁽²⁾ I am convinced this must be an event agreeable to you, Sir, and therefore I truly rejoice at it. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, truth, and esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient, and

most humble servant,

BRISTOL.

(1) M. Wall continued to hold the situation of principal secretary of state for foreign affairs till the year 1763 ; when he retired from court with a pension of ten thousand crowns, to which the King of Spain afterwards added the pay of a lieutenant-general in actual service, besides continuing to him all the honours and prerogatives he before enjoyed.

(2) The King had just given Earl Temple the vacant garter.

THE EARL OF BUTE TO MR. PITT.

[December, — 1759.]

LORD BUTE presents his compliments to Mr. Pitt, and most sincerely joins with him in the triumphs of this glorious day. It winds up greatly the most auspicious year this country ever knew; and Lord Bute is not a little pleased to think how much this immense success is owing to Mr. Pitt's ardour, steadiness, and ability.

Friday.

THE RIGHT HON. RICHARD RIGBY TO MR. PITT.

Dublin Castle, December 23, 1759.

DEAR SIR,

I THINK myself much honoured by the receipt of your private letter of Thursday last by Garstin the messenger, who by a most expeditious passage arrived here this afternoon. The packet is to sail early to-morrow; and although the Duke of Bedford cannot possibly have time to prepare his letters to you so soon, yet I think it highly necessary for me not to neglect the first opportunity of acknowledging the receipt and returning you my thanks for your letter.

Be assured, Sir, that however serious you and the rest of the King's servants have seen this enormous

outrage, you cannot form a conception of it more full of indignity than I have. It is difficult to assign the causes of it. I am convinced there are more than one. The circumstance of the time when it happened, and its having entirely subsided since Sir Edward Hawke's victory, together with the repeated intelligence we received from you for many months prior to it, of emissaries coming over from France, should make one imagine it to be part of the plan of invasion ; and I am convinced that it was so. ⁽¹⁾

On the other hand, I must inform you that, for many years past, the mob in this kingdom has been wickedly and infamously made use of by different parties as an engine to carry questions in parliament by terrifying the members ; and I know of a certainty that expressions have dropped this very session even from members of parliament, that

(1) "There was much reason for believing, that the insurrection had deeper foundation than in a mere jealousy of an union with England. Seditious papers had been printed ; two drummers in the livery of the college had commenced the uproar in the Earl of Meath's liberties, telling the people, that if they did not rise by one o'clock an act would be passed to abolish parliaments in Ireland. But the strongest presumption of the tumult being excited by the emissaries of France came out afterwards : it appearing, that the commotion began the very day after intelligence was received that the French fleet was sailed from Brest. Indeed, it is now past doubt, that the court of France had laid a very extensive plan, meditating an attack on the three kingdoms at one and the same time. England was to be invaded from Dunkirk, Ireland by the Brest fleet, while Thurot was to fall on the north of Scotland." — *Walpole's Geo. II.*, vol. ii. p. 405.

since they had no chance for numbers in the house, they must have recourse to the old method of numbers without doors. You may imagine I wish I could bring positive proof to the bar of this; which, though I am not able to do, I am fully satisfied of the truth of. There is no tale so absurd which the common people here will not swallow with a few shillings' worth of whiskey; and I suspect, not without reason, an infamous disappointed old lawyer, who offered me a bribe of a thousand pounds to make him a judge, for which I treated him as he deserved, to have been at great pains and expense to poison the minds of the people, particularly upon the dreaded subject of an union, and there being no more parliaments to be held in Ireland. (1)

(1) "The storm weathered, the Castle met with little opposition. Perry, the most formidable of the minority, they bought off. One man alone gave them trouble; his name Hely Hutchinson, a lawyer; his views he owned himself. Being asked, on leaving England, whether he should addict himself to the opposition or to the Castle, he replied, 'Not to the Castle certainly, nothing is to be gotten there;'—meaning that Rigby engrossed every thing. Hutchinson had good parts, and exerted them briskly, annoying Rigby, Malone, and the courtiers." — *Walpole*, vol. ii. p. 407. — Hely Hutchinson was called to the bar in 1748, returned to the Irish parliament for Lanesborough in 1759, and for the city of Cork in 1761; which he continued to represent till his death, in 1795. In 1762, he was appointed prime serjeant; in 1764, provost of Trinity College, Dublin; and in 1777, secretary of state for Ireland. His avidity for office called forth the satirical remark of Lord North, that if "Hutchinson had England and Ireland given him, he would still solicit the Isle of Man for a potato-garden." He married the niece and heir of Richard

Whenever I shall have the pleasure of seeing you in England, and you can spare me a little time, I shall be able to explain to you more at large other motives and causes for this riotous, almost rebellious, disposition in the people here. They look upon it as a token of liberty and independency; and the daring to fly in the face of the English government is as an inestimable jewel in the eyes of many, not of the lowest of the people. It would amaze you, Sir, to see the reluctance I have met with to probe this flagrant evil to the bottom, and the impossibility to get at a ringleader by ever so large lucrative offers, which I have made to those who I am certain are capable, if they were willing to inform.

That it is over; that it is past and gone; that you will hear no more of it, is the language of many considerable persons, and is the answer I have received from numbers, when I have pressed them to assist me in the House of Commons in the passing a riot act; which I will attempt when the house meets again, if I find the least chance of being supported.

Give me leave now to assure you that, besides the several schemes for augmenting the military force which have been transmitted from hence, and met with the King's approbation, the two Protestant counties of Armagh and Down have re-

Hutchinson, of Knocklofty, Esq., afterwards raised to the peerage by the title of Baroness Donoughmore, and was grandfather of the present Earl.

ceived a very large supply of good arms, which are already distributed by the governors or deputy-governors of those counties. The town of Londonderry is put into the best posture of defence which the place admits of, by repairing their cannon, and arms are sent to the inhabitants of both the town and county of that name. The Protestant inhabitants of Bandon in the county of Cork have also received a supply of arms, as many as they applied for ; and others will be distributed by the Duke of Bedford where it is safe and proper to trust them. But let me assure you, upon the fullest enquiry I have been able to make into the prudence of such a measure, that it does require much caution into whose hands and what places arms should be delivered.

The Protestants, you say, Sir, have hands and zeal. I am sorry to say there is a sect amongst the Protestants, who have a zeal most dangerous to be trusted. They are descended from Cromwell's followers, and still retain that stubborn spirit. They avow at this day a dislike to monarchy and the established church, and their fidelity requires equal watching with the Papists. Indeed, Sir, I do not state the situation of this country in a more unfavourable light to you, than it appears to me after much acquaintance with it.

Since the 3d instant, when the great riot happened, every precaution has been taken by the Duke of Bedford, and is taken, that can be thought of, to preserve the peace of this city, and every thing

has been quiet since. I hope you will hear of no more such scandalous and brutal violences. Depend upon it nobody shall be more alert in endeavouring to discover the past offenders, or in bringing future ones to the severest punishment which the laws will inflict, than him who has the honour to be, with the highest esteem and regard, dear Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

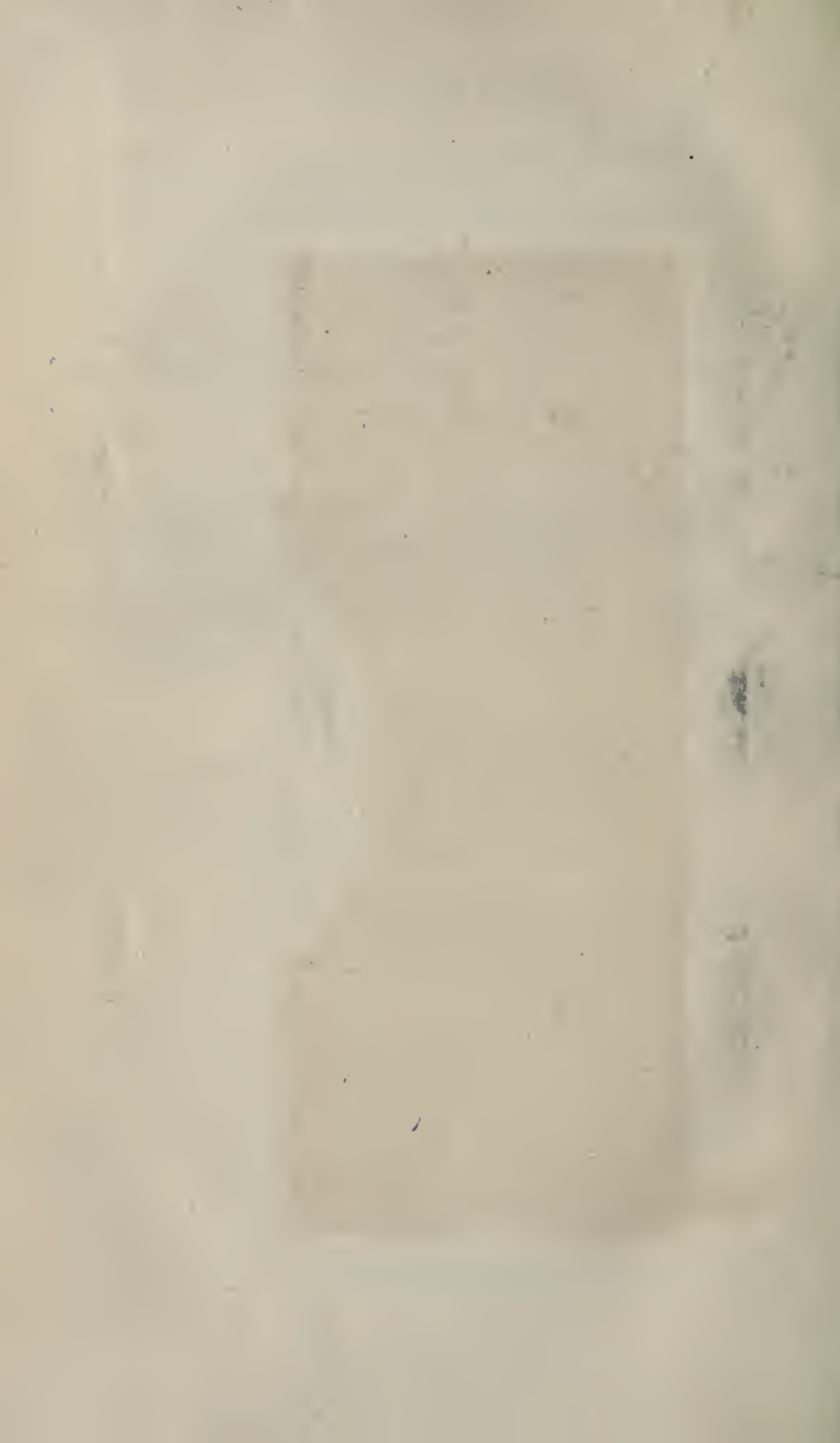
RICHD. RIGBY.

P. S. Permit me, Sir, most sincerely to congratulate you upon the very great and important news which Bateson has brought us. *What a glorious conclusion of the greatest year England ever saw!*

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